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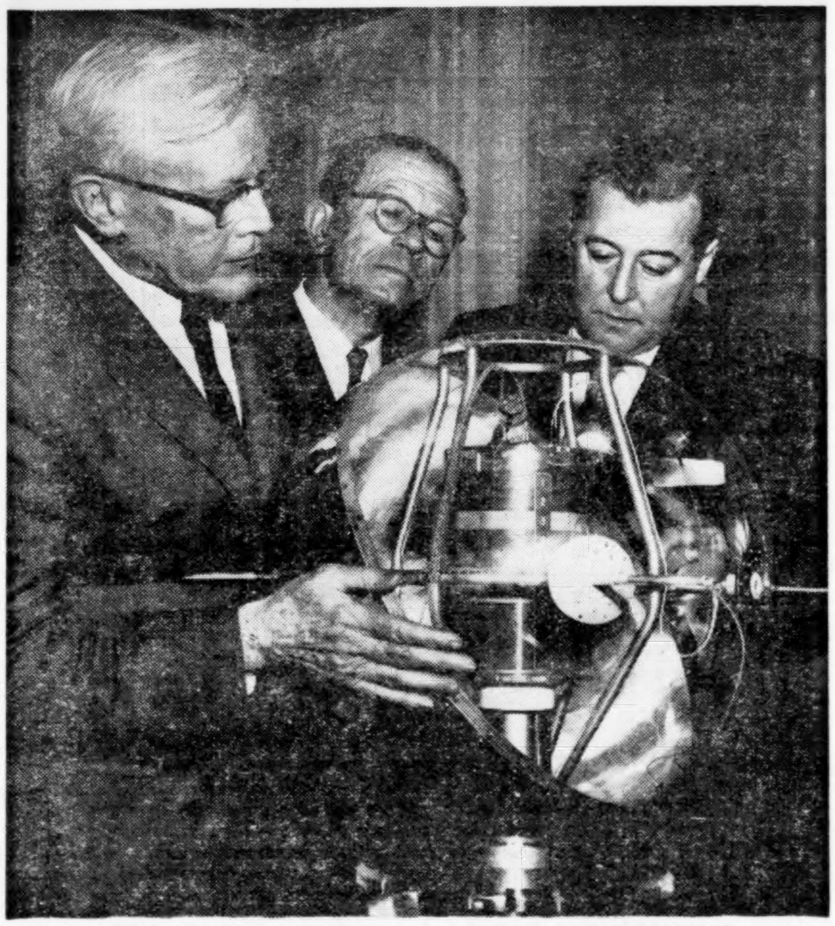

THE SECOND SPUTNIK? A REPEAT PERFORMANCE
That's what Dr. John P. Hagen (l.), head of the U.S. satellite program said—but he stood alone in his estimate. He is shown demonstrating an American satellite to disturbed Senators. Sen. Carlson (R-Kan.) compared the challenge of the new Sputnik to the attack on Pearl Harbor.

A SHAGGY DOG STORY

What the Russians hope to discover with second Sputnik

By Elmer Bendiner

AS THE FURRY little Siberian hunting dog whizzed about the earth in Sputnik II, scientists, military men, economists and politicians tried to grasp the meaning of the event. Many, seeing the cosmos in cold-war terms, cried doom; but some, like Dr. Lyman Spitzer, chairman of Princeton University's Astronomy Dept., saw that the sputniks could "open our eyes upon the stars."

The doom criers were mainly American. Nuclear physicist Dr. Edward Teller said: "There is very little doubt who will determine the future of the world, if Russia surpasses the United States in technology over the next several years." Columnist Roscoe Drummond in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** wrote: "Now Khrushchev bluntly tells the world that the era of the strategic bomber is past. True, Moscow is not dismantling its heavy bomber squadrons but I believe that if we dismiss Khrushchev's words they will haunt us as we slide down the slope of declining power."

And there was grim irony in recalling that Dr. Werner von Braun, formerly Hitler's rocket chief and now heading the U.S. effort, when he surrendered to U.S. troops after the war, said: "The next time I want to be on the winning side."

"IT MUST SERVE PEACE": The mood in Moscow was supremely confident. Though Soviet officials tied the second sputnik to the celebration of the Revolution's anniversary, scientists there claimed no monopoly. L. I. Sedov, member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, said in an interview with the Soviet weekly **New Times**: "To advance astronautics the joint efforts not only of scientists of different specialists, but also of different countries must be enlisted. It must serve human progress and peace."

The Soviet astronauts were planning bigger and better sputniks. Earlier this year the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow published a pamphlet by A. Sternfeld which outlined the coming sputnik. A three-or four-stage rocket will be launched on its orbit.

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KHRUSHCHEV IS CONSISTENT

Behind Zhukov's dismissal: The CP asserts its power

By Kumar Goshal

ON OCT. 26, about an hour after Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov had returned home from an official visit to Albania and Yugoslavia, Moscow tersely announced that he had been relieved as Soviet Defense Minister. For a week thereafter Moscow remained silent, as the world speculated on the Marshal's future.

On. Nov. 2, as a festive Soviet Union prepared to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Revolution, Moscow announced that a "plenary meeting" of the Soviet CP Central Committee "has excluded Georgi K. Zhukov from membership of the Presidium of the Central Committee and from the Central Committee." The CP Secretariat was "instructed to provide Zhukov with other work."

The plenary meeting accused Zhukov, among other things, of violating "the Leninist party principles of guiding the armed forces"; of pursuing "a policy of curtailing the work of party organizations, political organs and military councils; of abolishing the leadership and control of the party, its Central Committee

(Continued on Page 5)

The case of the diplomat's vanishing pouch

ON THE NIGHT OF SEPT. 3 a ship crossing the Bosporus vanished. Nothing has since been heard of the vessel, its captain, its crew or its cargo.

Later that month Soviet CP Secretary Nikita Khrushchev, in an interview with James Reston of the N.Y. **Times**, repeatedly emphasized that he had documents to prove that Secy. of State Dulles had instructed his Deputy Under Secretary Loy Henderson to incite Jordan and Iraq to war against Syria. Khrushchev told Reston, with all the confidence of a man who has a joker up his sleeve: "I advise you to ask Mr. Dulles. As a man who often appeals to God, let him swear that he did not give such instructions to Henderson."

At least two French newspapers linked Khrushchev's joker with the mystery of the vanishing vessel on the Bosporus.. The Middle East expert of the Paris daily **Le Monde** said he got the story from two members of the Baghdad Pact's anti-subversion committee. **Liberation**, another Paris daily, ran its own account. Pieced together they told this tale:

A POUCH PUT ABOARD: At the end of August Loy Henderson was admittedly on a diplomatic mission connected with the "crisis" caused by Washington's belief that Syria was swinging into the Soviet orbit. Henderson spent about a week in Turkey. He was seen in Ankara, then in Istanbul, later in Lebanon, and then back again in Turkey. On Sept. 3 Henderson had a long chat with Turkey's Premier Adnan Menderes. That evening in Istanbul Henderson filled a diplomatic pouch with notes on his conversations and a number of top secret documents, and took off for a leisurely tour of Europe.

The pouch was put aboard a vessel to be carried across the Bosporus to Scutari and the huge U.S. military base nearby where a special plane was said to be waiting to fly the pouch to Washington. The ship never reached Scutari.

SEETHING WITH AGENTS: Four countries border the Black Sea: Rumania, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union and Turkey. The ships of all four sail on the Black Sea and the Bosporus, the strait at its western end. The area seethes with agents, double agents, even triple agents. The U.S. possesses not only a long-range radar set-up in Turkey to monitor Soviet weapons tests, but allegedly a system of free-lance data-peddlers disguised as merchants or seamen. Four years earlier, in 1953, according to **Le Monde**, another ship disappeared on the same run. It too carried U.S. documents. The French speculated that the captain and crew of the most recently vanished vessel might have been double-agents of Turks and Russians.

There was more than coincidence to tie the vanished ship to Khrushchev's documentary "evidence." On Sept. 10, one week after the disappearance, Soviet deputy naval attache Capt. Alexander Maralgine and his aide were being entertained in an Istanbul night club. The rest of the club's audience that night seemed to be made up of Turkish agents, it was reported. They surrounded the two diplomats who were promptly expelled from the country for "espionage." Since then the Turkish police and secret service have experienced a violent shake-up in top brass.

A DISAPPEARING CRISIS: French observers noted that Loy Henderson seemed to be "in a state of acute anxiety" during his stop-overs in Europe and has since been retired into the diplomatic background. Moreover, the "grave Syrian crisis" which before Sept. 3 had apparently alarmed Washington seemed to dissipate without any visible reason.

In the U.S. the press all but ignored the story and the State Dept. ridiculed it, although one official added a mystifying if gay reassurance: "The only place we lose diplomatic couriers is in Paris."

The Washington correspondent of the London **Times** reported that officials had said the story was "for the birds" but the reporter added:

"No other line could be taken, and it may be noted that during the past week or so rumors have circulated in the State Dept. about an espionage 'leak' in Turkey by which the Russians gained possession of theoretical plans of the Turkish General Staff for military operations against Syria, a paper exercise that any general staff would possess, and copies of these documents have apparently been given by the Russians to some Arab embassies."

THE MAIL BAG
USM

Who's with me?

EDGEWOOD, R.I.

Your first-class editorial on "the job ahead for all America," encourages my belief that the time is ripe for a nationwide association of clergy and professional religionists whose consciences (and Gospel) lead them into the struggle for a new world. We all agree that the Church should display more leadership and less followship. I suggest we organize ourselves for more effective work in mobilizing "the good conscience of the whole country." Who's with me? A postcard to the GUARDIAN or me will get us going.

(Rev.) Warren H. McKenna,
29 Squantum Drive

Set aside differences

PACOIMA, CALIF.

I agree with you that a third party is imperative now. However, the only way we can accomplish this feat would be for all of us to set aside our individual differences for the time being, important as these differences may be, and band together in a common cause.

If you, as a national means of communication, can find a common ground for us to get together and form this party, now is the time. **Sally J. Hammill**

You'll go looping!

MT. WASHINGTON, N. H.

Have you tried the Sputnik cocktail? Vodka and sour grapes, with a sprig of gall.

Beep Beep

A worthy cause

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

We see a hope that the infamous Smith Act may be destroyed. The next battle against it takes place in Massachusetts, when the prosecution of five Communist leaders starts on Nov. 26. The outcome of this trial will write into law one more legal precedent on the Smith Act. It will either still further smash the Act, or else rivet its chains more firmly on numberless future victims throughout the land. It is up to us to assure these defendants the most powerful legal defense that can possibly be obtained. Even with four court-appointed lawyers who serve without fee, legal expenses are astronomical. $10,000 has got to be raised before Nov. 15! Will you send all you can? Contributions should be sent to Mrs. Frances Hood, Treasurer, Mass. Smith Act Defendants' Committee, 33 Fayston St., Roxbury; or to Florence Luscomb, 10 Kirkland Rd., Cambridge.

Florence H. Luscomb
Walter O'Brien, Jr.

For Morris Seder

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I am sending you $5 in memory of Morris Seder of Pittsburgh. He died Sept. 4, 1954, at the age of 54, a victim of witch-hunting.

Max Jenkins

Any questions?

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Atoms for peace?

Atomic power in any form is a death-ray. The radioactive "garbage," or refuse, remains active and has to be disposed of. We already have this problem.

Rivers which cool atomic power units in stationary plants are now being contaminated. Atomic boats are now contaminating every path they use. Atomic planes? You call that one. Think if this menace were in general use!

There is an ever-growing number of lay students on the subject who believe that the planets are like huge generators with the crust (generator field) rotating in one direction, while the core (generator armature) rotates in reverse, giving us our gravitational field. We, including "the authorities," know the geographical North and South poles are the axis points of the crust rotation. Many others believe the North and South magnetic poles are the axis points of the core, rotating in the opposite direction.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Kadet Trainer Rifle. What could be more exciting to a a boy than owning the official Kadets of America training rifle plus the Army Manual of Arms to teach him precise military drill and the handling of a gun! And when he's ready to graduate to the real thing—he'll know how to handle it carefully and skillfully! $3.98

—Miles Kimball catalog

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: C. Colcord, Brooklyn, N. Y.

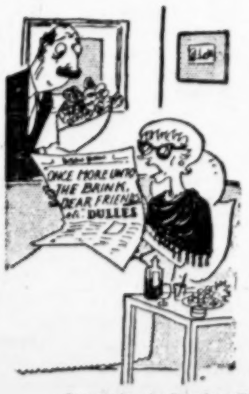
It is a fact that the magnetic poles have varied slightly, but since the atomic lunacy the magnetic poles have shifted much more, requiring more frequent correction of magnetic variation lines on sea and air navigation maps. If these poles become unbalanced enough, we believe there could be a change in the Earth's rotation, in re-balancing. A sudden change would cause oceans to flow over whole continents, frigid regions to melt, warm regions to become frigid polar wastes. This is believed to have happened before. An example is the complete elimination of the mammoths in a few hours, as green vegetation is found in the stomachs of frozen mammoths in Siberian ice. They were frozen so fast that the meat is edible after ages in ice.

Some might say I am an alarmist who would hold up progress; that occupational risks and other risks go with all progress. To counter that, let me state that I have been flying since 1935, have a commercial pilot license, with ratings for single and multi-engine, sea and land planes and instrument (blind) conditions. I've worked high voltage and amps "hot," and done "high" work in electrical power station construction. I've been arrested as a sit-down striker, tear-gassed and pushed by bayonets as a union officer. It is a proud feeling to participate in progress, industrial or social, and the more active or risky, the greater that feeling. I'm not against progress. I only oppose insanity and suicide.

Research is needed in the basic forces of the universe, the forces that keep the planets and stars on their balanced orbits and moving with uncountable force. Moves have been and are now being undertaken in this field. Keeley, in the later part of the last century, experimented with partial success, but was in court with stockholder trouble too much. A plane flew in 1929, powered by an electric-type motor with no outside apparent source of energy. There are Pomona (Calif.) orange groves now being kept from freezing, and producing better, by only some No. 10 copper wires strung and towered in a particular way—no electricity as we know it, and no heat. And many more!

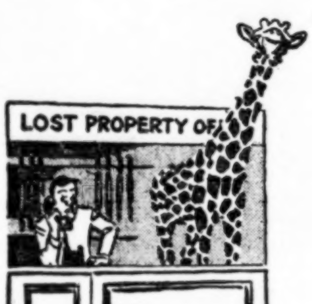
The "quacks" who work on this research are feared by capital and slandered by press, as much as the socialist movement is, because they can develop free energy—for heating, transportation, light! No more oil trusts, no more electric trusts—unlimited power for the world which would force world socialist development and end colonialism—and no more radiation fear. Before you push any more plugs for "atoms-for-peace," see if you can figure a better method of disposing of our atomic garbage than shooting it to the moon, as seriously proposed by an "authority." The Moononians might shoot it back.

George H. Mount


ONCE MORE UNTO THE BRINK, DEAR FRIENDS
DULLES

Lancaster in London Express

"Well, I WAS feeling a little better."



London Daily Mirror

"And what color was your giraffe, madam?"

Too late

CHICAGO, ILL.

A reader (McCrossen, Mail Bag, 10/28) would convert both the House and Senate into national shrines to liars. He is much too late. The House and Senate already are such shrines. Any reader can verify this. Let him merely examine for a period of several weeks the editions of the official **Congressional Record.** **Observer**

On to Las Vegas!

PUEBLO, COLO.

Why is it so difficult to imagine peaceful co-existence of a socialist and a capitalist world? Even say the socialist world all but triumphs, what is to prevent America co-existing alone—a minority, unethical and immoral perhaps, but as a prosperous Las Vegas of the world!

Paul Stewart

Salt of the Earth Dept.

LEVITTOWN, N.Y.

Somehow it is always the money asked by those who need it least which gets paid first. This month the heck with it: a late electric or rent bill may cause worry but never a sense of guilt; but the thought of losing the GUARDIAN half scares me to death! With the GUARDIAN I am a confused progressive; without it a babbling political moron. My favorite expression when confronted with everything from Hungary to "spy cases" is "I'll make up my mind after I've seen the GUARDIAN too." **H.M.**

"World slave traders"

SASKATOON, SASK.

Slavery has existed and still exists in numerous forms such as chattel, white slavery, sharecroppers, serfdom and modern wage slavery. In early history slaves were taken as war booty, later hunted with bloodhounds like wild animals and sold in the best market.

The modern method is to buy Queens, Kings, Sultans or set up pliant figureheads and take over slaves, countries and all for so-called protective purposes. They have long experience in handling slaves and know all the tricks.

The lengthy sessions of the Committee on World Disarmament in London after over 150 meetings recently ended in deadlock. Why?

The real trouble with the disarmament conference is that it was sailing under false colors. If it had been called the World Slave Traders Convention people would have known what to expect.

No peace can be expected as long as the big powers maintain and extend their slave holdings by purchase, force or doctrines as they are now doing.

H. Vindig

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the progressive newsweekly

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Vol. 10, No. 4 401 November 11, 1957

REPORT TO READERS

The glass jaw

MORE IN SORROW THAN IN ANGER, we offer for your post-election reading a letter from Sarah Lovell of Detroit, whose independent candidacy for Mayor we endorsed, among the few other independent candidacies we could learn about, in our Oct. 28 issue. She writes:

"Unfortunately, my name was not on the Nov. 5 ballot, and there was no way of registering a progressive vote in the mayoral election here. Under the non-partisan system in effect in Detroit elections, a primary is held in September, eliminating all but the top two candidates for a November run-off. . This insured the election of the conservative Republican candidate, Louis C. Miriani (supported by GM-Ford-Chrysler-Reuther-Hoffa), opposed in the run-off by a conservative Democrat whom even the labor leaders rejected."

THERE IS A LESSON to be learned from this, Miss Lovell says: "I spent the first half of this year campaigning in the unions for labor to run its own slate in this election. But the Reuther-Hoffa policy prevailed, and the labor movement tagged along behind capitalist politicians.

"At the suggestion of the Socialist Workers Party, I then appealed several times to all the radical groups in this city to run candidates of their own for mayor or city council; and to form a left-wing or socialist electoral bloc of candidates to offer as an alternative to the capitalist politicians.

"The ballot requirements in city elections here are quite easy to meet; every one of the radical groups could have put at least one candidate on the ballot. I even offered to withdraw from the mayor race and run for the city council if a conference of these groups would prefer some other choice for the top office.

"But neither the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the American Socialist group nor any of the other organizations responded to our appeal. Not one of them ran any candidate for any office.

"I am firmly convinced (and the primary statistics support this view) that a united campaign by the left-wing could have placed an anti-capitalist candidate on the ballot to oppose Miriani in the run-off, thereby greatly enhancing the socialist education of Detroit's voters.

"This wonderful opportunity was muffed—thanks to a mixture of opportunism, timidity, apathy and (if they will permit me the expression) narrow sectarianism by most of Detroit's radical groups.

"I hope that your firm restatement of the need for independent political action will help radicals and socialists to avoid such mistakes in the future, here and elsewhere."

IN NEW YORK THE COMMUNIST PARTY, in a 3-column last-minute editorial in the Nov. 3 **Worker**, signed by two of its state leaders, Benjamin J. Davis and George Blake Charney, attacked the mayoralty campaign of the Socialist Workers Party as "disorienting and dangerous" and said that a vote for the SWP candidates "does not advance the cause of socialism." The editors of the GUARDIAN are chided for urging such a vote as a socialist alternative.

Rather, the CP recommended as "sound . . . the position of many that a large vote for the Liberal Party [Mayor Wagner, the Democrat, was its candidate] will exert independent pressure on the incoming administration." The editorial then wound up with a plea for post-election unity.

WE MARVEL, as at a fancy boxer protecting a glass jaw, at the facile logic which can anathematize a socialist campaign as not advancing the cause of socialism; and in the same combination can approve (pardon: approve the approval of) a tailist campaign which hates socialism like the devil hates holy water.

We look forward with interest to the extent and solidarity of the post-election unity which will have been thus forged.

—THE GUARDIAN

THAT GUSHING 'FORTUNE' ARTICLE

Our oily American millionaires

By Victor Perlo

THE SUPPOSED LEVELLING of the great American fortunes through taxes and reform legislation is a major myth ballyhooed by the "People's Capitalism" hucksters. Its refutation has been carefully kept from the vast majority of Americans.

Now Henry R. Luce and his associates of Time, Inc., have laid the myth forever. Their appetite for the spectacular overcame their loyalty to class folklore. The latest issue of **Fortune** names and estimates the range of wealth of 76 Americans worth $75 million or more, and notes that there may be as many as 500 "$50-millionaires." The results were given wide press publicity. The estimates are "conservative," and restricted to individuals, although the family is the proper unit for this type of study, and usually has several times the wealth of any individual member.

The **Fortune** tabulation objectively confirms recent basic works which the magazine has never even acknowledged—for example, C. Wright Mills' **The Power Elite** and the writer's **The Empire of High Finance.** Moreover, it implicitly agrees with my identification of the Du Pont, Mellon and Rockefeller families as the three richest in America, and with my assertion that their wealth has multiplied (see table).

HOW THEY GOT THERE: The widest discrepancy is between the two current estimates of the Du Pont fortune. That is because **Fortune** covers only the five richest of the prolific Du Ponts, of whom over 100 were named in the rececnt Government anti-trust suit. The Mellon and Rockefeller fortunes are more concentrated.

Fortune also shows that most of the rich got that way by birth or marriage; 45% were listed as "self-made," but that description was stretched to include Godfrey L. Cabot of the Boston family; Donaldson Brown, who married a Du Pont, and other dubious entries.

Great U.S. family fortunes
(billions)

	Prewar (govt. est.)	*Current Fortune**	*Perlo's estimate*
Du Pont . . .	**$0.6**	**$1.1**	**$4.7**
Mellon	**0.4**	**2.8**	**3.8**
Rockefeller . . .	**0.4**	**1.9**	**3.5**

*top range shown.

Oil was given as the main source of 23 of the 76 fortunes listed, and actually accounts for most of the present wealth of a half-dozen other individuals shown.

JEAN PAUL GETTY: Most publicity was given expatriate oilman Jean Paul Getty, whom **Fortune** places on the top of the list with individual wealth of close to $1 billion. This is in line with the tendency to dramatize the "independent" oil men, while playing down the more diversified Wall Street families.

Getty tops the list simply because he was an only child, and keeps the family fortune all in his own name. He controls two medium-sized oil companies, Tidewater and Skelly, through a network of holding companies as complex as the public utility systems which collapsed in the 1930s. Only time will tell how much of Getty's holdings are real, how much represent the speculative pyramiding of anticipated oil profits.

In the last three months of bear market, the value of his personal holdings has fallen almost 50%, to below the estimated **Fortune** range. Like other "independents," Getty's companies are wholly dependent on Wall Street banks for financing, and on cartel arrangements with Standard Oil for survival. Indeed, Getty obtained his main companies by an exchange of stock with Standard Oil, which had controlled them.

THEIR HABITS: Much of the **Fortune** article by Richard Austin Smith, which embellishes the list, is devoted to the habits and inanities of 50 of the millionaires who condescended to be interviewed. Example: "Drinking is moderate . . . and the reading of books is moderate too." They pretend to believe their own propaganda: 80% consider taxes "will be the death of them" and "virtually confiscatory." Says **Fortune**: "The truth is that the tax situation of the Very Rich is nowhere near so gloomy as it might seem," thanks to "our luxurious new talents for tax avoidance."

Fortune plays down the real power in these huge accumulations, and puts forward the standard apology that "professional managers" have taken over control of the great corporations. But that chestnut is forgotten when Smith describes the "enlightened power" of Richard Mellon's wealth:

"Nobody had to be told that the man asking for cooperation controlled the billion-dollar Mellon Bank, owned $242 million worth of Gulf Oil and $117 million worth of Alcoa; that was implicit in the very air Pittsburghers breathed."

POLITICAL PLACE: Indeed, as shown in **The Empire of High Finance**, eight leading interest groups, of which the Mellons are one, each control complex financial-industrial empires comprising tens of billions of dollars, and together straddle the entire U.S. economy.

And its politics: The list of 76 includes the ambassadors to England and France and the governor of New York; several former top government officials or their parents; leading contributors to both major parties. Concerning the chief Democratic moneybags:

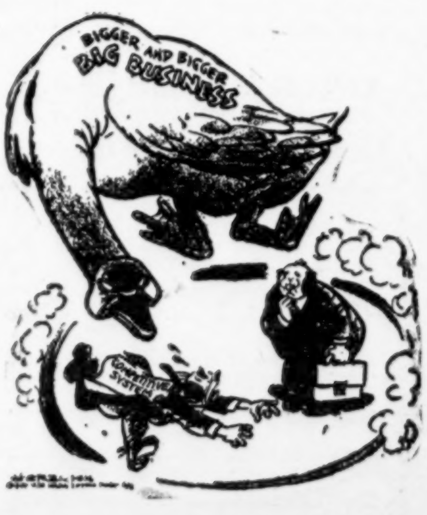
"Joseph Kennedy's prime ambition is the establishment of a Kennedy dynasty. He looks forward to seeing son John, the able junior Senator from Massachusetts, as President of the U.S. and son Robert, the McClellan subcommittee's smart young counsel, as Governor of Connecticut. To this end he has set up a staff organization . . .to provide the necessary brains and money . . . to supplement the small budget of a congressional committee . . .or do preliminary spadework for a best-selling book."

THE DOMINANT ONES: The most sinister aspect of the power of the billionaire families now pivots on that prime maker of fortunes—oil—and the fact that most profits of the giant oil companies come from abroad, with the greatest boom in the Middle East. For the Rockefellers and their allies dominate the foreign policy of the U.S.

Their problem, as stated by Charles Carroll of the Natl. Foreign Trade Council, is to curb the "defiant delinquencies" of those "but recently emerged from colonial status" who threaten the sanctity of investments in extractive ventures.

Erstwhile Standard Oil lawyer Dulles acts accordingly, riding roughshod wherever possible over the aspirations of every country with an oil well or pipeline, placing naval and air fleets throughout the Middle East, and periodically driving to the brink of World War III in the never-ending grab for every acre of proven or potential oil-land.

VICTOR PERLO, a New Deal economist, author and lecturer, also wrote the much-quoted book, American Imperialism.



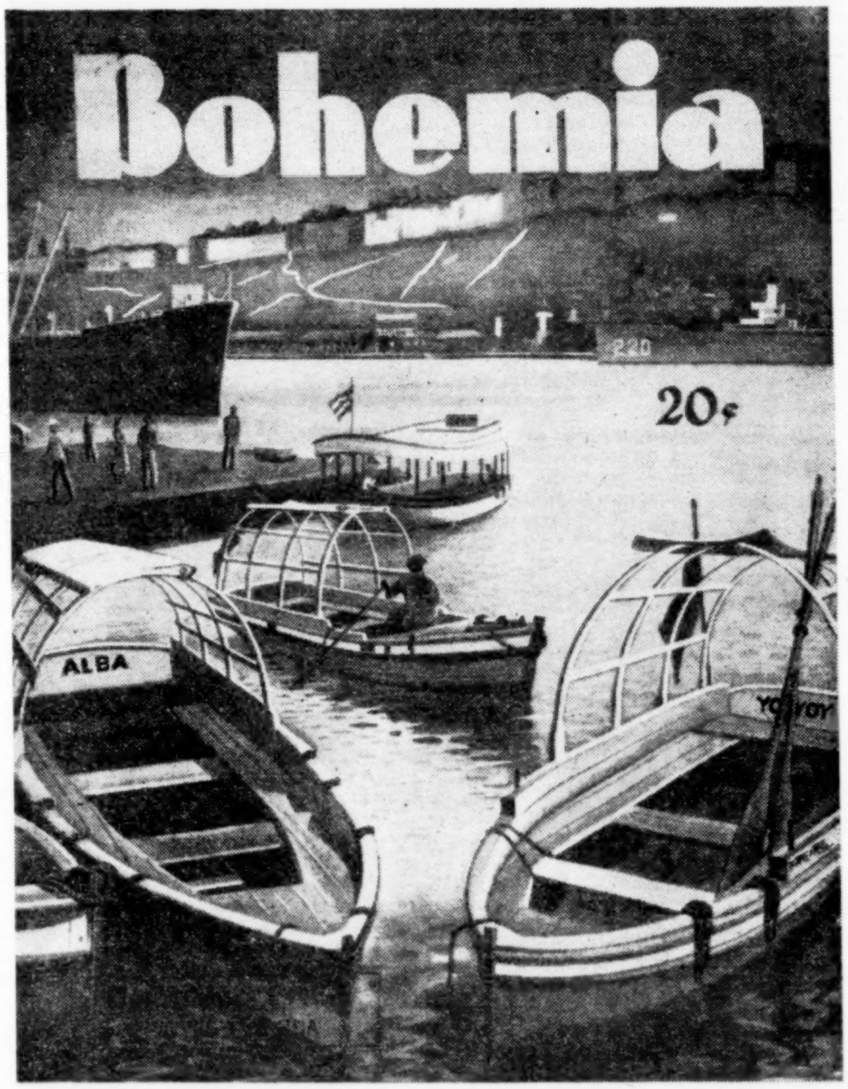
Herblock in Washington Post
"Now, how do I keep the goose that lays the golden eggs from killing me?"

Friends in Court

THERE ARE VALID reasons why so many successful corporations are chartered in Delaware. Primarily, it's a matter of economy, of good business. Delaware's taxes are low—its corporation taxes lower than those of most other states in the country! There is no corporation income tax in Delaware, no state stamp tax on stock issues or transfers! . . .

Another advantage is in the friendly, favorable attitude of the Delaware courts. Consistently, the courts have contributed to the simplicity and stability of the Corporation Law by backing it up with sound decisions. No wonder, then, that Delaware is called "The Corporation State."

— From a booklet issued by the Corporation Service Co.



The signs on the cover of a Cuban magazine

LAST SEPT. 5 the Cuban naval base of Cienfuegos was the scene of a mutiny and an anti-Batista insurrection that was suppressed bloodily and swiftly. Before it broke, Cubans read a signal for it concealed on the cover shown above of the Aug. 25 issue of **Bohemia**, a splashy Cuban weekly, roughly corresponding in popularity and influence to the **Saturday Evening Post** in the U.S.

The cover picture, unmistakeable to Cubans, is the port of Cienfuegos. To find the message begin with the name of the launch at lower right **Yo Voy**—I am going. The launch at lower left is called **Alba**—dawn. The warship at upper right sets the hour: 2:20. The date is read by counting the people on the pier: the fifth. The actual destination is read across the hillside: to read it, turn the picture upside down. The smokestack and turrets of the warship make an F. The wavy lines on the hill spell out: I-D-E-L. Fidel is the popular name of the rebel leader in the hills, Fidel Castro.

There are two other identifying features. The flag on the launch called **Yo Voy** is Fidel's grey-and-red standard. The signature on that boat, **Freire**, is not that of the artist, but the name of one of Fidel's lieutenants.

The Cienfuegos explosion went off as predicted in this message. But there are several unanswered questions. **Bohemia** was not suppressed. Though many Cubans openly talked of the puzzle picture, the issue was not confiscated. The editors were not arrested though Batista's police have been shooting people for far less. The artist who did the cover reportedly has disappeared from Havana but there have been no other repercussions.

Bohemia has been critical of Batista but not otherwise noted for strong politics. Some speculated that Batista dare make no more enemies since he already has so many. Last week he again suspended constitutional guarantees. From the underground come reports of savage drumhead executions by Batista of political dissenters. Fidel Castro has offered only a vague program of what might come after Batista. Still, though Cuba's revolt against Batista and Yankee imperialism may run deeper than Fidel's, most Cubans reportedly stand ready to support him. Some rumors say that Batista would with relief decamp to a prosperous retirement in Florida if his own henchmen were not holding the dictator's family in hostage.

MEMPHIS BLUES

Grace Lorch sends Jenner up a tree

SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND's subcommittee on Internal Security held two days of hearings in Memphis, Tenn., with Sen. William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) presiding, Oct. 28-29, but learned nothing and accomplished nothing beyond the threat of a contempt citation against Mrs. Lee Lorch of Little Rock, Ark.

Mrs. Lorch drew national attention on Sept. 4 when she was the one white person in Little Rock to go to the aid of Elizabeth Eckford against a white mob after the Negro girl had been barred from entering Central High School by the National Guard.

Mrs. Lorch appeared in Memphis in answer to a subpena, but when she was asked to step into an ante-room for a closed session of the committee, she replied: "I'm not going in there alone." Later she declared: "They can just run up a tree before they get me in a secret session. I was subpenaed to appear at 10 this morning and not for an executive session."

THREATENED: On the stand Mrs. Lorch responded to every question with the remark, "I am here under protest," and repeatedly tried to read a prepared statement. Sen. Jenner said: "You're a troublemaker, aren't you? We don't care what you did in Little Rock. We are concerned with the threat of communism to this nation. We want to know if you were a member of the Communist Party in Boston . . ."

When Mrs. Lorch again remarked, "I am here under protest," the Senator said: "This woman came here to try to disrupt this proceeding. If she's not going to answer questions I think she should be excused and cited for contempt."

The committee announced the hearings in advance as intended to investigate "reports which indicate communist activities in Tennessee, Kentucky and nearby areas." Some 25 witnesses, supposedly involved in such activities, were called, but committee counsel Robert Morris complained: "We have had a high percentage of witnesses refusing to testify."

NO GREENGLASS: Among those who appeared was Don West, well-known Southern writer and poet who described himself as a farmer from Douglasville, Ga. He invoked the Fifth Amendment against all questions concerning his political beliefs or associations.

Another witness was Reuel Stanfield of Cincinnati, O., who also invoked the Fifth and other amendments in refusing to testify about his political beliefs or associations. But asked if he once contributed an article to the GUARDIAN he replied that he had submitted a piece on "getting to heaven" to several papers last summer. Asked if he was "urging people to go to heaven," Stanfield said: "I think they ought to."

Other witnesses included Kentucky State Atty. Gen. Joe M. Ferguson and Kentucky Commonwealth Atty. A. Scott Hamilton who prosecuted Carl and Anne Braden of Louisville on sedition charges because they helped a Negro family buy a home in a white neighborhood.

Sen. Eastland missed most of the hearings through illness, but showed up in time to issue a joint statement with Sen. Jenner declaring that they showed a "communist network" in the mid-South aiming to infiltrate "the churches, the parent-teachers associations, the colleges, the high schools, and the labor organizations."

An earlier committee request that Harry Gold and David Greenglass, now serving sentences on espionage charges, be permitted to testify at Memphis was rejected by the Justice Dept. The committee had suggested they could give information about "space secrets" transmitted to the Russians in 1947-48.

ONE HUMANE VOICE: Mrs. Lorch is the wife of Dr. Lee Lorch, mathematician, who has been continually harassed since 1949 when he sub-let to a Negro family an apartment in an all-white New York Met. Life housing project. He now teaches at Philander Smith College, a Negro institution in Little Rock. The Lorches were evicted from their Little Rock home in September because they had as a dinner guest a reporter from the Chicago **Defender**, Negro weekly.

Dr. James A. Dombrowski, executive director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, said in Little Rock:

"Sen. Eastland's action in this matter calls for two kinds of response from the Congress of the United States: one, it should abolish Sen. Eastland's subcommittee as a massive threat to human decency, and so to the internal security of the nation; two, it should award a Congressional Medal of Honor to Grace Lorch . . . "

Mrs. Lorch's courage in defending young Miss Eckford against the mob at Central High School won wide acclaim at the time. The N.Y. **Times** commented on Sept. 6: "Where the militia left off the crowd took over. One humane and civilized voice was heard, that of a white woman, Mrs. Grace Lorch, who crossed over to the bench where Elizabeth Eckford was waiting for a bus and tried to comfort her. Mrs. Lorch spoke back: 'She's scared,' she protested. 'She's just a little girl. Six months from now you'll be ashamed of what you're doing'."

In an editorial widely reprinted in this country, the Toronto **Daily Star** said: "No, Little Rock is not really so far away and none of us who is called white can be proud save of Grace Lorch."

What's going on here?

THE SENATE Internal Security Subcommittee has long made it plain that it regards support of the equal protection clause of the United States Constitution as subversive. In 1954, Senator Eastland, now the chairman of the Subcommittee, held hearings in New Orleans, acting as a one-man subcommittee for the ostensible purpose of exploring alleged Communist influence in the Southern Conference Educational Fund; the hearings served only to pillory certain fellow-Southerners who had openly opposed the Senator's "white supremacy" doctrines. On Monday, Senator Jenner conducted a hearing of the Subcommittee in Memphis on "reports which indicate Communist activity in Tennessee, Kentucky and nearby areas." Mr. Jenner seems to think, like Mr. Eastland, that ordinary Christian kindness, if it is exhibited by a white person to a colored person, is communistic.

Grace Lorch of Little Rock was summoned to the hearing by the Subcommittee for no apparent reason save that she had comforted a frightened, weeping Negro child who had been turned away from the high school at Little Rock when she sought to enter on Sept. 4. Mrs. Lorch's courage and spirit, as well as her kindness, on that occasion, should have warned Senator Jenner that he would be dealing with an old-fashioned kind of American not easily cowed and as ready to defy the lynch spirit in a congressional committee as in a mob. She told the Senator that she would see him up a tree before she would testify in executive session. "Anthing I say will be out here in open court," she told him. We think she was prudent as well as courageous—and entirely within her rights—in taking this stand.

What is a committee of the United States Senate doing in conducting a hearing of this kind? Was the investigating power of the Senate given to this Committee to enable it to punish a woman for befriending a Negro child? What's going on here, anyhow?

—Editorial in Washington **Post & Times Herald**, Oct. 30

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Zhukov dismissal

(Continued from Page 1)

and Government over the Army and Navy."

A LINK TO STALIN: The Marshal was also accused of establishing "the cult of Comrade Zhukov's personality" and of distorting "the true history" of the Soviet Union's role in World War II. Next day, in an article in **Pravda**, Soviet Marshal Ivan Konev carried the accusations further. He attributed to Zhukov military blunders during World War II, linked him to "Stalin's incorrect assessment of the military and political situation on the eve of the war."

The Central Committee plenary meeting's resolution, and Konev's elaborate accusations, left a number of points unclear:

1. If Zhukov was a military blunderer, how did it happen, as the resolution itself stated, that "the party and the Government paid tribute to the services rendered by Comrade Zhukov, promoted him to the rank of Marshal . . . awarded him four gold stars of Hero of the Soviet Union, and decorated him with numerous orders"?

2. If he had been associated with Stalin's mistakes, why did Stalin banish him to obscurity, and why did the new regime after Stalin's death restore him to high position?

3. If he had "an insufficient appreciation of party principles," why was he, as the resolution states, "vested with great political trust"?

4. If he was a "politically unsound person," why did the Soviet government eagerly follow up President Eisenhower's suggestion that Zhukov's visit to the U.S. might prove beneficial; and why did Soviet CP First Secretary Khrushchev express strong resentment to N.Y. **Times** correspondent James Reston that the U.S. State Dept. had vetoed Eisenhower's suggestion?

"EXCESS OF SUCCESS": Despite the questions, however, certain points seemed to be clear. As Harrison Salisbury noted in the **Times** (11/3), "Marshal Zhukov has made no secret of his belief that party interference played a negative role in the Soviet Army [and] has publicly and openly thrown his influence to the side of greater responsibility and independence for the military."

N.Y. **Herald Tribune** columnist Joseph Alsop said (11/3) that he had learned in Warsaw that Zhukov had lately been "blinded by the excess of his own success" and had "insisted upon full control of the armed services [and] the right to place his own men in key posts in the crucial Soviet police organization."

Khrushchev and the CP Central Committee apparently acted in the Zhukov case to assert the Central Committee's supremacy over **all** aspects of Soviet life, including the military. The London **New Statesman** said (11/2): "The thread of consistency that runs through all of Khrushchev's actions in the last three years is the reconstruction of the party machine as the primary center of power. To this end, an alliance of the government, party and army leaders broke Beria and the secret police. [He] steadily built up his party organization to the point where . . . he was able to attack the centralized government bureaucracy and exclude both its representatives and the old-guard Stalinists from the Presidium. The next target clearly was the army, which has been a semi-independent institution . . ."

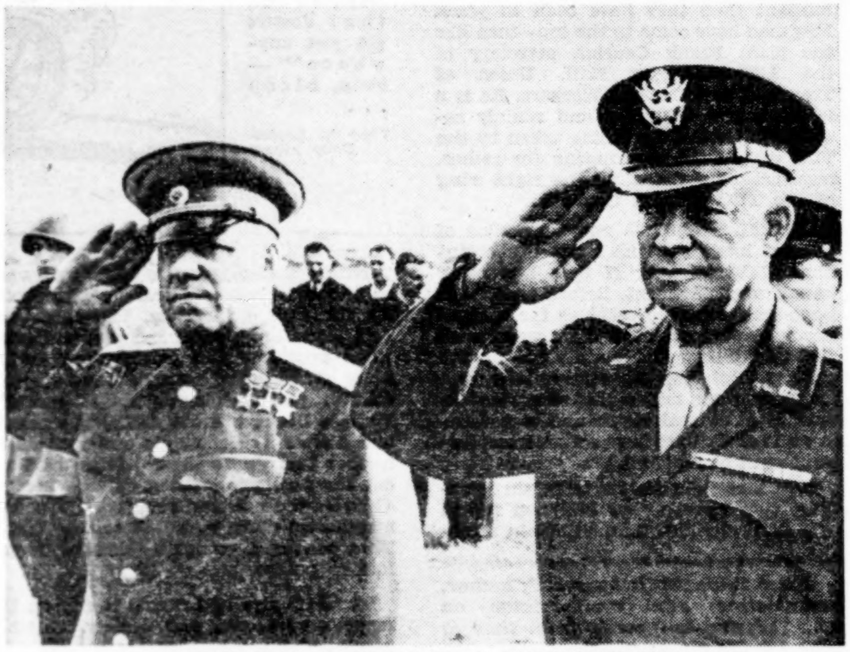
A BALANCE IS STRUCK: The fact that the Central Committee spent several days in discussing Zhukov's future seemed to bear out the contention that "collective leadership" is functioning in the Soviet Union. Under Stalin, as the **New Statesman** said, the Central Committee rarely met: "In present circumstances in Russia it clearly has some vitality and power, if only because it is the place where the balance is struck between contending factions."

The Zhukov affair was overshadowed by Moscow's announcement, barely 24 hours later, of the launching of "the second artificial earth satellite [dedicated] to the fortieth anniversary of the great October Socialist revolution." Even more than the first satellite, the second one underscored the need for East-West peaceful coexistence.

In an interview with a Canadian journalist last week, Khrushchev denied that "war is inevitable," said that Moscow was ready at any time to sign an agreement to ban nuclear weapons tests implemented by "controls in the territory of nations carrying out experiments" (**UP**, 11/3). His sentiments were echoed in other parts of the world.

THE ALTERNATIVE: Speaking at the University of Minnesota, Canada's former Foreign Minister Lester B. Pearson, winner of the 1957 Nobel Peace Prize, urged the West to "go on seeking . . . a basis for negotiation and agreement" on coexistence with the Soviet Union. The alternative, he said, would be a peace "balanced precariously on the knife-edge of terror." He found no prospect of easing "cold war" tensions if the West insisted on "a rigid, unconditional surrender type of diplomacy." Referring to the Middle East, he said: "When Russia has a legitimate interest in some area, we would be foolish to act as if that interest can either be ignored or destroyed."

Pearson's statement might well have been directed to the UN disarmament conference, as was Indian Defense Minister Krishna Menon's sober plea for immediate suspension of nuclear weapons tests as "a reversal of the engines of armament." Noting the British delegate's assertion that suspension of tests is not disarmament, Menon said: "No one said it was disarmament. Disarmament is not peace [but] only a step to peace . . . I would submit that in discussing [disarmament] we are really discussing the problem of human survival . . ."



THIS WAS ANOTHER DAY: BERLIN IN 1946
Marshal Zhukov and General Eisenhower at an Allied review

The second Sputnik

(Continued from Page 1)

Others would be sent up after it to attach themselves to the first—like sectional book-cases. They will be built as cabins, laboratories, observatories, work shops, all air-tight and air conditioned. Artificial gravity will be created by spinning mechanisms like a centrifuge. This will keep objects resting normally on furniture and allow people to walk around on the cabin floor, whereas in weightless conditions they would float.

THE WORLD'S WEATHER: Solar energy might be harnessed within the satellite to power machinery aboard, perhaps to grow vegetables in hot houses, which could provide food supply for passengers. The satellite could then be used to map the great masses of air that make the world's weather, study cosmic rays, solar radiations, radio phenomena. Finally it could serve as a launching platform for rockets to outer space.

The pamphlet's prophecy might have seemed fanciful two months ago, but Sputnik II seemed very like the foundation of such a satellite. Presently circling the world are four man-made objects: Sputnik I at maximum altitude of 560 miles, weighing 184 lbs.; the last-stage rocket that fired it into its orbit; the nose-cone of the rocket; and Sputnik II. The second Sputnik is itself a rocket, like the one outlined in the Soviet pamphlet that might serve as the nucleus for other rockets. It weighs 1,120 lbs. and reaches an altitude of 1,056 miles. The Soviets gave no other specifications, but U.S. scientists guessed that it was probably a 50-foot cylinder.

NOT MANY SECRETS: The launching rocket, it was calculated, probably weighed between 100,000 and 300,000 lbs. and the thrust of the rocket that sent it soaring must have been close to 265,000 lbs. There have been few secrets in rocketry; its principles are well known. But the fuel that powered so fantastic a thrust was acknowledged to be far superior to anything possessed by the Western nations. It was a secret that no Congressional spy-chaser could claim was stolen.

Sputnik II circles the Earth every 102 minutes. Sputnik I was a test of the launcher and little more. It was not originally given a long life, though in more than a month the drop in altitude has been barely perceptible. It carried no more than a radio transmitter—now silent since its batteries apparently ran down. Sputnik II is the first authentic satellite which is now sending on two transmitters data gathered from a score of instruments. It is built to last. Earl Ubell, science editor of the **N.Y. Herald Tribune**, said: "This sputnik may stay up forever."

A SHAGGY DOG STORY: The Russian announcement said the satellite contains instruments for studying and measuring solar radiation, cosmic rays and temperature. Most attention, however, centered on its passenger, the first living thing to travel beyond the earth's atmosphere.

It was not clear from early Soviet announcements just which dog was chosen for the pioneer effort. Three little shaggy laikas, a Russian breed related to the Eskimo husky but smaller (resembling a spitz or a pomeranian), have been carefully trained for space travel. The one in Sputnik II was said to be either Damka (Little Lady) or Kudyavka (Curly).

The dogs have been sent up more than 80 miles in rockets and returned safely by parachute. Prof. Alexander V. Pokrovsky has trained them to follow commands and accustomed them to air travel; to ration themselves in eating and to respond to certain electrical stimuli by pressing an instrument with the nose. In that way, it was thought, the dog's reactions could be tested under conditions of space travel. Electric stimuli could be set off by radio controls, and the dog's response timed. Some said the dog wore a space suit. In any case his cabin is air conditioned and ventilated so that the carbon dioxide exhaled by the dog as well as all waste products are removed.

MOST PUNISHING TEST: The dog is wired so that his heart, blood pressure and pulse rate are constantly measured and the results transmitted by radio. Some said the dog might have a microphone nearby that would pick up barks or whines. The first great fact sent down from Sputnik was that the little laika was "alive and happy" after Sputnik was well set on its orbit. It meant that life could withstand the most punishing test of all: the tremendous acceleration of the rocket.

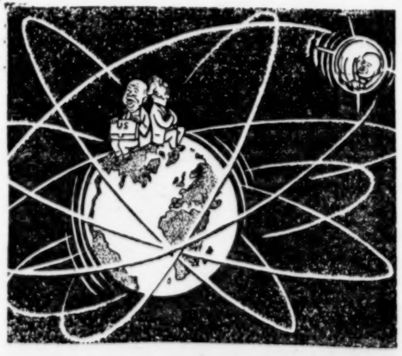
As long as the satellite is on its orbit the dog should suffer little major discomfort. Weightlessness, the phenomenon Soviet scientists are studying most anxiously, has been eperienced by U.S. airmen in experimental studies. Some report an exhilarating effect, others seasickness or mild vertigo. The Soviets said the dog was being fed "automatically" but nobody knew whether that meant intravenously or whether a machine was doling out food to him at intervals.

The dog's reactions may determine whether or not human space travel is feasible and may lead to the development of devices to save humans who will follow the dog's trail. Not only humane considerations but scientific ones would lead Soviet scientists to bring the dog down to earth again where the effects of space travel can be studied.

THE TOUGHEST PROBLEM: If they can work that successfully the Russians will have solved the trickiest problem in space travel—the return trip. According to Soviet satellite literature, descents into the earth's atmosphere are to be done in easy shifts, braking the speed by gliding into denser atmosphere and out again. As the speed is decreased the heat generated by contact with the atmosphere is lessened, allowing finally for a gliding descent on wings. There was some speculation that perhaps the dog's cabin could be ejected from the satellite and sent gliding to earth in this manner.

Societies for humane treatment of dogs were unappeased by such assurances. In Britain the League Against Cruel Sports called for the international repudiation of "these Russian fiends." In New York the president of the Bide-A-Wee Home Assn. telegraphed the Russian Embassy in Washington: "Your government has once again proved its inhumanity." In Los Angeles the head of the California Pet Owners Protective League called it "horrible" but added: "Our own country will do the same thing—the same as it has in atomic tests."

There have been few protests on the use of dogs, sheep and cattle to test radiation effects on Yucca Flats and science has long employed guinea pigs without their consent.



Friell in London Evening Standard

"150 . . . . the reason I can't exchange secrets with you . . . . 151 . . . . is that he might get hold of them and steal . . . . 152 . . . . a march on us."

K. ZILLIACUS: BRIGHTON AND AFTER

Prospects for the Labour Party - and the problems it must solve

By K. Zilliacus
Labour Member of Parliament

THE LABOUR PARTY met for its annual conference at Brighton, slightly shell-shocked from 7% bank rate and elated at the prospect of power. The government's five-year term of office ends May 26, 1960, but few expect it to last beyond the fall of 1959, if that long. Gallup polls, local government elections and by-elections alike give Labour such an increasing lead over the Tories that even they are conceding defeat. The latest blow to the Tories was the Labour by-election victory in Ipswich in which the winner doubled his 1955 election margin.

The prospect of power operated on behalf of the leadership at Brighton. "Don't rock the boat" . . . "Don't split the Party" was the mood. Some of us suspect that the "election 'round the corner" business was deliberately exaggerated by our leaders. They talked as though we must expect an election in a few months—because they found this mood so useful.

THE OLD, OLD WAY: But the 7% bank rate worked the other way. For it denotes the victory of the Tory right-wing toughs and their big business backers over the slightly more progressive "younger Tories," who realize that dear money, credit squeezes, strangling production and creating unemployment in order to cure inflation are old fashioned remedies that aren't going to work. Labour's Hugh Gaitskell has given an impressive warning that all the signs point to a world recession, if not a slump, which would be helped along by the government's policy.

But the Trades Union Congress meeting in September looked at the government's policy not as economists but as workers whose jobs and pay-packets are threatened by the employers, the Tory Party and the government. They angrily rejected the government charges that workers' wage demands are responsible for the inflationary spiral. They pointed out that wage demands are made only **after** prices have risen, in order to catch up with the cost of living which the government's policies were deliberately boosting higher and higher.

They said that so long as the government refused to limit dividends and profits, or to accept planning and control, they would vigorously defend their members' standard of living. The new Tory chairman, Lord Hailsham, called this a conspiracy between left-wing trades unions and Labour party leaders to overthrow the government and impose Socialism by direct action!

POLITICAL SUICIDE: The Tory right wing is pressing hard for a showdown with the unions as the only alternative to abandoning the government's policy for curing inflation in a "free" economy. But the government hesitates because it knows the move would be political suicide and the resulting industrial conflicts would spell economic ruin.

For the trades unions today are more militant than they have been in years. New men have come to the top—men like the giant Frank Cousins, secretary of the 1,300,000-strong Natl. Union of Transport and General Workers. He is a Socialist and a fighter and mainly responsible for the tough line taken by the TUC toward the government (or rather, responsible for defeating the right wing of the TUC General Council).

NATURAL RIGHT: A new generation of workers has grown up since the beginning of World War II that has never known unemployment. Before that, with large-scale unemployment as far back as anyone could remember, there was a good deal of fatalism and apathy among the workers. But now they have the idea firmly in their minds that the right to work is a natural right, and a government that fails to provide full employment must be replaced.

Most men fight harder to retain something they have always had and regard as a natural right, than to attain something they want but never possessed. That, of course, is something the Tories haven't grasped, because they are not awfully good at understanding what has been happening over the last 40 years. And what they see they don't like and resolutely close their eyes to. If some American Republicans, in Adlai Stevenson's phrase, have to be carried kicking and screaming into the 20th Century, there are British Tories who scream and kick to get back into the 19th.

Konni Zilliacus, Labour MP, author, pamphleteer and commentator on world affairs, will write from time to time for the GUARDIAN.

CONTROLS AND PLANNING: Against this background, the Brighton conference put the finishing touches to its policy-making. The only outstanding item now is the report, promised for next year, on central controls and planning. This apparently is also going to be put forward as Labour's "concrete and complete" policy for ending inflation. To which the Left says: Sure, you can't stop inflation while providing full employment and a rising standard of living, expanding production and developing social services, Welfare State, without planning, controls and a stiff dose of public ownership. But neither can we do these things until we cut the fantastic swollen defense burden (10% of the national revenue, 8% of our manpower) down by a half or two-thirds. That means a complete change in our foreign policy.

The Left also had plenty to say on the report on **Industry and Society**. This began with an analysis of the structure of our society which seemed to present an unanswerable call for socialism; then it went on to say that acquiring shares in industry, public accountability and controls and planning were enough. Nationalization was to be applied only if and when an inquiry had shown that an industry was failing the nation. But the steel industry and long-distance trucking would be re-nationalized.

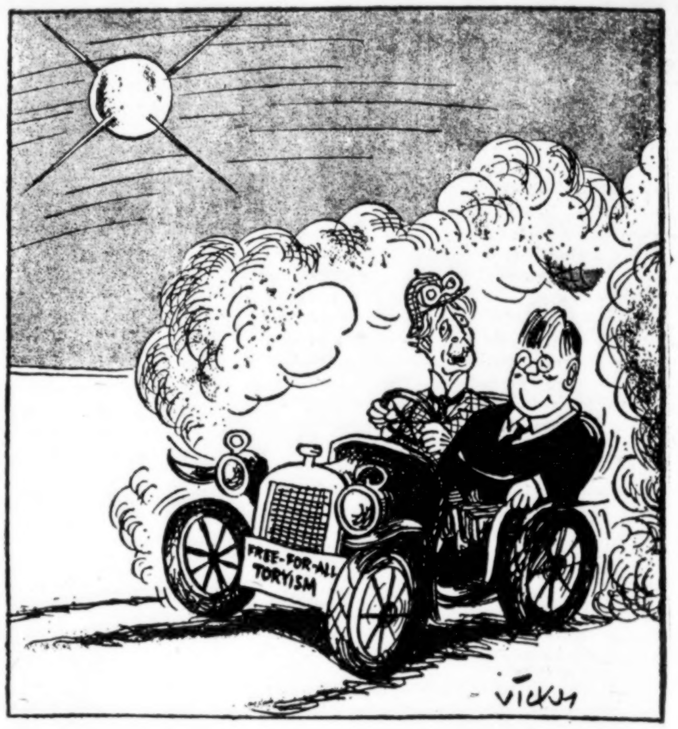
A "SHOPPING LIST": The heady pre-election atmosphere swung the big trades union bloc behind the platform—but only after the casters of more votes had made it plain that they regarded the report as an addition to and not a substitute for a program for nationalization. "You may have nationalization without socialism, but you can't have socialism without nationalization," said Cousins.

When Labour's election program is drawn up, in consultation with the TUC leaders, there will be a pretty robust program or "shopping list" of nationalization after all—and probably a situation in which our economy will be in obvious need of heroic remedies.

THE IMPLICATIONS: In foreign affairs Labour's National Executive accepted and the Conference unanimously adopted a resolution that completed a job which has advanced by stages—and with some setbacks—through successive annual conferences: pushing our leaders off their "national unity with the Tories" in defense and foreign policy, and onto a socialist line. We are now a party pledged (1) to reject the incalculable risk of H-bomb power politics in our relations with the Soviet Union and China and (2) to take the calculated risk of inviting them into partnership in peace—working through the UN—by means of East-West regional agreements based on the Charter.

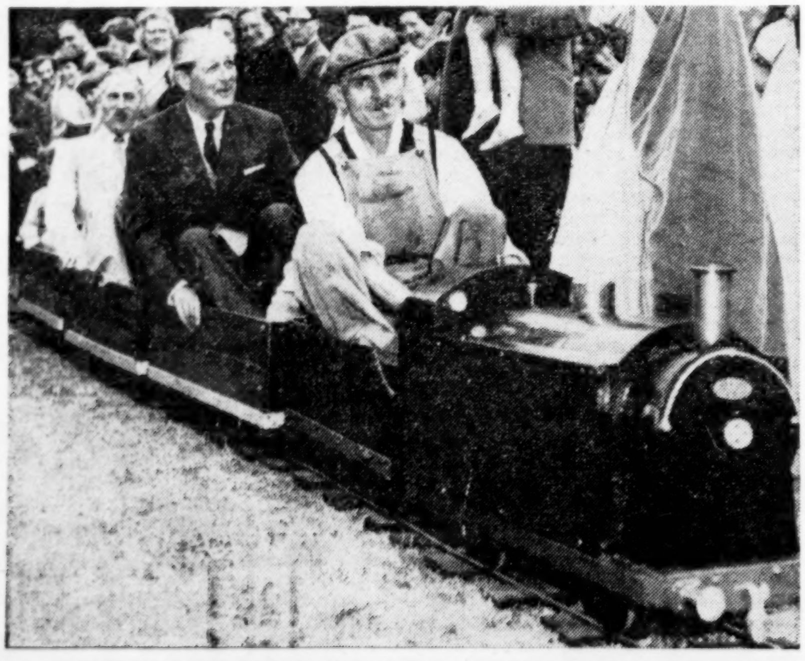
The question now is whether our leaders understand the implications of this policy and mean business with it. One implication is that the regional agreements must replace the rival military alliances that assume a will to war. The acid test of whether we mean what we say, and have the courage of our convictions in foreign policy, is our attitude to the H-bomb. Here Aneurin Bevan's spectacular switch left the conference and the party in a state of sad confusion.

But Brighton only carried that controversy one stage further, and it will continue to rage until this matter is settled on lines that make sense. There will soon be developments in this field that I shall report for the GUARDIAN.



". . . and then we'll tell them" — bleep, bleep— "that socialist industrial planning is an old-fashioned creed that doesn't get you anywhere" — bleep, bleep . . .

Vicky in London Daily Mirror



"KICKING AND SCREAMING INTO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY . . ."
Prime Minister Macmillan (2nd from front) at a Conservative fet

SET UP IN 1953

Mass. inquisition to shut up shop

Special to the Guardian

THE BOSTON PRESS, which banner-headlined the worst excesses against civil liberties in Massachusetts since 1692, had little space to announce the death of the illegal inquisition late last month. The **Globe** of Oct. 26 has this brief announcement:

"Three Boston police officers assigned to the State Commission on Communism and Subversive Activities were ordered to return to regular duties last night.

"Police Commissioner Leo J. Sullivan in directing that the policemen report for duty at Station 9, Roxbury, effective Monday morning said the department required their services. . . . The commission is scheduled to make its final report and go out of business on Feb. 1, 1958."

The commission, set up in 1953 after the model of Sen. McCarthy, conducted both secret proceedings and humiliating public spectacles. It published a blacklist of victims who invoked their Constitutional rights. It was anti-union and was frequently charged with persuading employers to fire workers for not turning informer.

Its four years of existence produced not a single indictment. Its only accomplishments have been hardship, unemployment, loss of business and personal suffering for persons persecuted to obtain headlines.

OLD STRUIK CHARGES: The commission's most recent publication was a rehash of the discredited charges against Prof. Dirk J. Struik of M.I.T., based largely on the testimony of Herbert A. Philbrick. But M.I.T. authorities were no more impressed than they were by the old one.

At least three members of the State police have been a part of the commission's set-up in addition to the three returned to the Boston force. Whether they have gone back to their old jobs yet is not clear.

The commission has said of its Boston police that it is "a human delight to render praise" to them.

A GUARDIAN ON-THE-SPOT REPORT

How Kashmir feels about India and Pakistan

In 1947, when Britain divided the Indian subcontinent into predominantly Hindu India and predominantly Moslem Pakistan, London advised the Indian princes to accede to one of the two dominions. Before the Maharaja of Kashmir could make up his mind, Pakistani tribesmen, in October, 1947, invaded the princely state. The Maharaja hastily acceded to India; New Delhi flew in troops and halted the invasion. India brought the issue of "Pakistan's aggression against Kashmir" before the UN in January, 1948. A UN resolution a year later called for a cease-fire, withdrawal of Pakistani troops from Kashmir, to be followed by a plebiscite. Cease-fire left about a third of Kashmir occupied by Pakistani troops that have never left; hence no plebiscite has been held. The Kashmiris later elected a democratic government which in January, 1957, formalized its status as the 14th state in the Indian Union. The Kashmir issue has become complicated by Pakistan's military alliance with the U.S. through membership in SEATO and the Baghdad Pact, and by the fact that the area of Kashmir occupied by Pakistani troops contains the modern Gilgit airbase, only a stone's throw from the Soviet border. The fact that the majority of the Kashmiris are Moslems is irrelevant, since Britain in 1947 made no allowance for the Indian princes to accede to India or Pakistan on a religious basis. Besides, India has a secular government, and 40,000,000 Moslems still live in India as Indian citizens.

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian Staff Correspondent

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

"JUST TEN YEARS AGO the city was in complete darkness," the Kashmiri official recalled over cocktails in the Army officers mess. "Pak (Pakistani) raiders had captured and shut the electric power station and had nearly reached the city. The Maharajah had fled. A skeleton government functioned from this very house. The Indian government did not know if the airfield was still ours. One Indian plane came, then others. We guided them in with flashlights. Only 100 soldiers were brought in that first night. Had they come even a day later, the city and Kashmir would have been lost."

Another Kashmiri interrupted: "Most of us are Moslems. You in the West conveniently forget it was the Moslem people of Kashmir who took up arms against the Pakistani aggressors, even though they were also Moslems. In this we were true to our long secular tradition." (The former princely state of Kashmir and Jammu consists of Kashmir, predominantly Moslem; Jammu, Hindu; and Ladakh, Buddhist.)

SHEIK ABDULLAH
There is a silent voice

A visitor soon discovers that Kashmir's secular tradition and resultant communal harmony is its proudest tradition. As G. M. Sadiq, former health and education minister, and longtime leader of the national movement pointed out, accession to India "was the only way to preserve our program, ideals and principles."

WESTERN INTERFERENCE: For most Kashmiris the question of accession to India was democratically settled long ago. The Maharajah's accession was endorsed by the National Conference (the united front independence movement) in 1947, ratified by the Constituent Assembly in 1954, given final sanction by the Democratically elected Constituent Assembly in 1956. Elections within the state in the last three years—to the Panchayats (village councils), to the Municipal and Town Area Councils and to the State Assembly gave sweeping victories to the National Conference and its unequivocal stand on accession to India.

Therefore to Kashmiris "plebiscite" spells only one thing—interference by Western powers, chiefly the U.S., which could be dangerous. Since Pakistan's claim to Kashmir is wholly communal, i.e. that as a predominantly Moslem state it belongs to Pakistan, a plebiscite would almost inevitably, Kashmiris are convinced, take a communal, disruptive turn. This rather than fear of the voting results lies behind India's and Kashmir's opposition to a plebiscite.

With Pakistan still occupying a section of the state, and memories of the pillage, burning and murders of a decade ago still vivid, the primary fact, Kashmiris assert, continues to be Pakistan's aggression. They point out that the promise to consult the people regarding accession—later interpreted to mean plebiscite—was a unilateral decision of the Indian Government and conditional on (1) withdrawal of Pakistan troops; and (2) return of displaced population, Moslem and Hindu, to their respective areas. Kashmir never requested a plebiscite.

BREAD AND BUTTER: Some people here do want a plebiscite and some favor Pakistan. Foreigners may occasionally be handed leaflets put out by the Plebiscite Front. Its influence seems to be negligible and its membership limited to some dissatisfied elements in urban areas. This Front claims to support Sheikh Abdullah, the onetime "lion of Kashmir," held in preventive detention since 1953. The Kashmir Political Conference, the equivalent of Pakistan's Moslem League, is pro-Pakistan. The weakness of both these organizations was apparent in their refusal to test the issue of plebiscite in the last elections. Their call for a boycott was unsuccessful.

Kashmiris are far more concerned with immediate bread and butter issues. The split in the National Conference last summer, when Sadiq and other longtime leaders left the government and the Conference to set up an opposition party, reflects this concern. There is no difference whatever between the ruling NC party and the new Democratic National Conference on accession to India or the Kashmir Constitution. The differences lie in the fields of political democracy, civil rights, food production, economic development. Government and National Conference officials dismiss the opposition as Communist. Opposition leaders deny this charge. J. P. Dahr, former Deputy Home Minister, says: "The appearance of a healthy opposition is inevitable in a democratic society."

THE OLD AND THE NEW: The split was the climax of a long struggle within the party during which the opposition tried unsuccessfully to accelerate creation of a democratic atmosphere, and to move ahead toward the socialist goals charted in the state constitution. (Kashmir is the only Indian state permitted its own Constitution.) According to Opposition leaders, the government of Prime Minister Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed (who is also president of the NC) suffers from corruption and bureaucratism, and has violated civil rights. The NC itself, they say, has ceased to be a democratic functioning organization.

These charges must carry weight since in some districts the old NC organization went over to the Opposition intact. Quadrupling of rice prices in the last few months, growing food scarcity, the ostentatious wealth of some formerly poor government officials, hooliganism by NC elements has produced considerable dissatisfaction with the NC. Some pro-accession leaders temporarily turned to the Plebiscite Front or the Political Conference as the only opportunity to express opposition, until the new Democratic Political Conference provided them with the needed platform.

The new party is mobilizing the people, especially the peasants, behind a program of real economic development. In the context of the appalling conditions prevailing a decade ago in this feudal state cut off from the mainstream of life and communications, Kashmir has made economic progress. Partition of the Indian subcontinent left it without an all-weather link to the outside world. Boring of the Banihal tunnel, one of the biggest projects in Asia, has now established that link. A good network of roads has been developed. Declining silk and handicraft industries have been partially rehabilitated. Literacy has been raised from 3% to 20%. Hospitals and dispensaries have reduced the widespread prevalence of TB. But much remains to be done. Food and land problems illustrate both the achievements and the needs.

WHY LAND REFORM FAILED: Kashmir is the only Indian state permitted (after a long fight with Delhi) to carry out land reform without compensation to landlords. The 1948 reform abolished proprietorship in land beyond 23 acres, liquidated the peasant debt, guaranteed tenants against evictions. Yet it failed to give the peasant an interest in increasing production because: (1) peasants were not made sufficiently conscious of their rights; (2) the reform was implemented by the old bureaucratic machinery unsympathetic to the people; (3) corruption was widespread, with landlords able to force peasants indirectly to pay compensation; (4) the government's failure to make rural credit available forced the peasants to turn back to the old money lenders and land slipped back into the hands of the owning class; (5) burden of the cash tax and levy in kind shifted to the new proprietor who thus could keep no more of his crop than he could as a tenant.

As a result the food deficit grew and reached a crisis by 1953. When Abdullah was arrested and a new government was set up, important reforms were made: compulsory levy and the many restrictions on movement of food, and import of food from India to stabilize prices were abolished.

PRESSURE FROM BELOW: From June 1953 until May 1957, food prices were maintained at a normal level. There was no scarcity. Introduction of fertilizers, irrigation schemes, short term credit helped bring a big increase in food production. What was later to become the opposition group, which included Minister of Agriculture Mirqasim, proposed a series of laws: (1) eliminate the middlemen in the landholding structure; (2) confine ownership to those who till the land; (3) start community cultivation, i. e. cooperatives. These draft laws were before the Cabinet for a year. Its failure to act upon them was an important factor in the National Conference split.

When the opposition leaders left the government last summer, its food policies changed. Fair price shops were closed down, rice prices on the free market were permitted to soar far above the government price—an invitation to peasants to profiteer. Some fear the government will reimpose restrictions and taxes on movement of food.

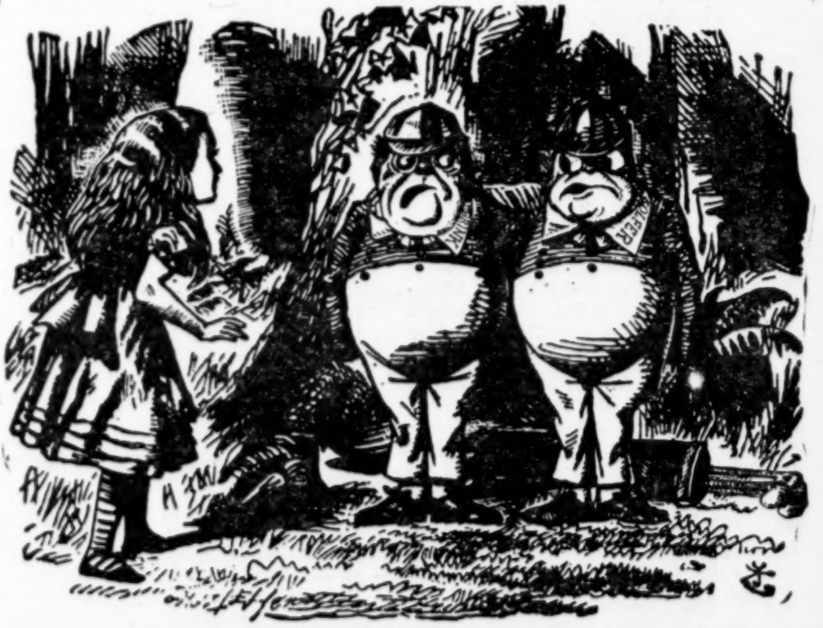
The opposition believes that only popular pressure from below can get the government moving in the right direction again. In proposing to organize this pressure and make it effective, they feel they are serving the interests of a democratic and secular Kashmir as a part of the Indian Union.

Real estate news

THE JAPAN Space Travel Association has sold more than 40,000 acres of land on Mars over the past year, mostly for the price of 55 cents an acre. But when the news came of the new Moscow moon circling the globe, the price went up to $2.70 an acre.

—Waterbury (Conn.) **American**

Alice's Adventures in Brinkerland



The Brink was scowling sulkily
Because he said the moon
Had got no business to be there—
He called it a "spittoon."
"It's just a hunk of steel," he said,
"They sent it up too soon."

"If our know-hows with T-V eyes
Watch it for half a year,
Do you suppose," The Golfer asked,
"That we could match it here?"
"Already have!" The Brink replied,
"It's just that ours go queer."

"The time has come," said Niki-ta
"To speak of peaceful things,
Of milk and meat and microscopes;
Can baggy pants have wings?
If we can live two hundred years,
O, Death, where are thy stings?

"We'd like to ban the bombs and tests
And do it very quick;
Why don't you come to visit us
And see what makes us tick?"
The Brink of War said nothing but
"A propaganda trick!"

E.C.R.

PEACE IN ALGERIA

The one way to solve the French crisis

By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian

THEY HAD TO CALL OUT THE ARMY TO GET PARIS MOVING
Parisians stranded last month by strike of transport workers

PARIS

ALGERIA is the background, the financial situation is the parliamentary cause of the long French government crisis that has brought the gravity of the country's plight into the open and into public consciousness at last.

Few are as yet willing to araw the logical conclusion from the fact that the two are as closely related as cause and effect, and Algeria has had to take a back seat before France's increasingly precarious financial situation. The majority groups, from the Socialist Party to the right-wing Moderates, know that within limits, and for the present, they can work out a compromise deal on Algeria between themselves. Like a chronic disease, the Algerian war has not yet reached the critical stage when a radical, emergency solution can be recommended and a majority found to back it up.

It's quite a different story when it comes to solving the country's financial troubles and touching necessarily on capital stocks and profits. This is as true today as it was back in May when the Mollet cabinet fell over proposed new taxes. This time again, though Bourgès-Maunoury was ostensibly overthrown on Algeria, the financial situation really settled his fate, and makes it difficult to find a successor.

OCTOBER STRIKES: The predominance of economic difficulties over all other questions not only worried Big Business but was reflected even in the big October strikes. The strikes—one on Oct. 16, by the nationalized Electricité de France workers, the other on Oct. 25 by a variety of unions from railway to radio and from construction workers to post office employes—were the most important ones the country has known in years. The strike called on Oct. 17 by the Communist Party as a protest against the Algerian war, on the other hand, stayed within the limits of purely political strikes. Some newspapers have spoken of a de-politicalization of the country. It seems closer to the truth to say that the country's economic difficulties are so overwhelmingly and so acutely felt in everybody's life that they outweigh all other preoccupations.

How serious is the country's financial plight? Since the government crisis began a month ago, each candidate for Prime Minister, on his trial run, spent much of his time with the State financial experts most likely to enlighten him on that point. Back from their "technical" discussions, the would-be Prime Ministers unanimously called the situation very grave. But whatever they said, they could not possibly over-dramatize it.

"OPERATION 20%": Treasury funds are so low at present that the State will be unable to meet its end-of-the-year obligations unless the Banque de France (France's Federal Reserve Bank) renews or extends the substantial loans already advanced the Treasury in June.

The foreign exchange balance is so far out of kilter that last summer's unofficial partial devaluation has just been made general. The economic advantage of last August's "Operation 20%" was to exempt from the 20% import tax the vital raw materials (coal, gas, electricity, etc.) that go to make up all industrial prices, hence to prevent the price rise from becoming general. This tax exemption has just been lifted to stop the importers from hoarding coal and other such tax-free imports. The result will be a new wave of runaway prices that, this time, will spare no sector of the nation's life. The London **Economist** only echoed the fears of many observers here when it anticipated a second devaluation of the franc some time soon.

THE PRESCRIPTION: Imports 20% more expensive—and less of them because of a shortage of foreign exchange—are a sure way down the road to economic recession. And economic recession, as the Conseil National du Patronat Francais (counterpart of America's NAM) recently pointed out, is particularly catastrophic in an over-equipped country all set, as France is today, for greater and more streamlined production.

The prospective Prime Ministers returned from their financial consultations with remedies that (according to their political coloring) included varying doses of three or four basic ingredients: (1) a new Treasury advance from the Banque de France; (2) new taxes, a new government loan (difficult to launch successfully in the present economic situation); (3) or a foreign loan (hope for that dwindled when the application for a loan from the International Monetary Fund was turned down in September with an invitation to France to first improve its foreign exchange balance and practice austerity).

A TABOO TOPIC: The one thing that would basically change the situation and stop the useless drain of wealth and productive strength from which the country is suffering is an end to the Algerian war. But that remains taboo among the majority groups that have been trying for the past weeks to form a new government.

The groups and parties in the House of Deputies today advocating an immediate end to the Algerian bloodshed and a negotiated settlement are handicapped by their numerical weakness and isolation.

The CP, 144 seats strong and representing almost one-fourth of the House, recently made another offer to the SP for collaboration to tackle the country's most urgent problems. The offer was again doomed to failure. Though the ice has been largely broken in rank-and-file action between the CP and other Left-wing groups, the CP's "Hungarian" isolation came as a happy assist to the official French SP line. There is virtually no fiercer anti-Communist group in the House today then the SP leadership.

The SP's own minority group, hostile to Mollet's and Lacoste's Algerian policies, is being outvoted and generally kept in line by party discipline.

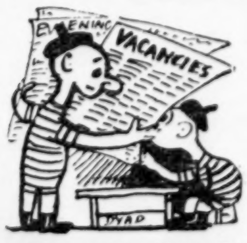
WHERE IS MENDES? Mendès-France, the man who made peace in Indo-China and gave independent status to Tunisia and Morocco, has never been more completely isolated on the parliamentary level. Because his government was "different"; because he got important, tangible results; and because his small group, catlogued as center-left, is potentially a far more dangerous pole of attraction to the middle-of-the-road liberal voter than the CP or the Progressive Party could hope to be—because of these things Mendès-France is no doubt today one of the most hated men in the House.

For the present, then, although the one possible, logical House majority continues to be on the left (as it has been ever since the January 1956 elections) SP determination to keep the CP in splendid isolation and Mendès-France out of government makes a real left-wing coalition impossible and transforms the Assembly into an unworkable puzzle.

The net result is a waste and absurdity painful to watch. While the country's intellectuals and artists, its scientists and engineers and technicians do some very fine work often little known abroad—performing miracles on a shoe-string—the political and financial situation in which successive governments have placed the nation eats away its material wealth, prestige and good-will at a frightening pace.

THE MORICE AFFAIR: The House economic debate turning on Algeria recently uncovered a personal scandal involving "dissident" (anti-Mendèsist) Radical Deputy, Andrè Morice, Bourgès-Maunoury's Defense Minister and owner of a construction firm at Nantes. Morice was questioned on unscheduled sums of money his Ministry spent on thousands of miles of barbed wire to "lock off" the Algerian-Tunisian border. Insistent questioning as to who had made money on the barbed wire deal led to discussion of a separation wall of a different sort.

The wall the questioners referred to was the German Wehrmacht's Atlantic wall against Allied invasion. The next day the full story of how Morice in 1944 had helped the Germans build the Atlantic wall broke in **Humanitè**, **France-Observateur** and **Express**, with solid documentation. This would be just another scandal of minor interest if it weren't for the fact that Morice had just about been picked by the President of the Republic, in September, to unravel the next government crisis. Becoming Prime Minister was the ex-Atlantic Wall builder's dearest wish. The present crisis has at least served to prevent a scandalously unfit man from holding that office.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Who d'you have to know to get the job of French Prime Minister?"

Definitions

THE OHIO CIO **News and Views** brings us these choice tidbits from the examination papers of students at a Pennsylvania school:

Goblet is a male turkey.
A spinster is a bachelor's wife.
Blizzard is the inside of a fowl.

—**Labor's Daily, 10/8**

ARREST LEADERS

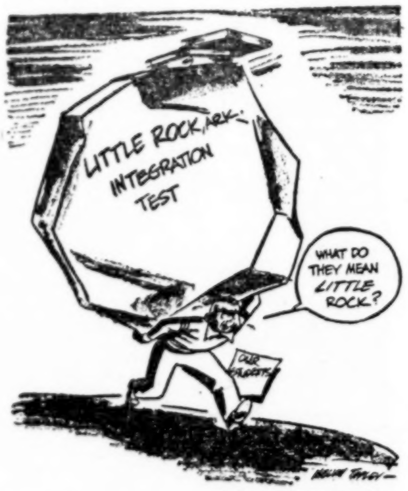
Little Rock opens attack on NAACP

By Lawrence Emery

THE SURFACE-QUIET of Little Rock, Ark., was abruptly broken on Oct. 31 when a majority of the City Council ordered the arrest of local officers of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored people for refusing to disclose the organization's membership lists and financial records.

Mrs. L. C. Bates, chairman of the Arkansas Branch of the NAACP who has won international renown for her part in the integration of nine Negro students in Little Rock's Central High School, was in New York City on a speaking tour when the arrest warrants were issued. Her husband said in Little Rock that the organization "hadn't expected anything like this." Mrs. Bates flew home on Nov. 2 and surrendered to police. She was released on $300 bond. On Sunday she addressed a New York rally in the Williams Institutional Church at Seventh Av. and 131st St. by telephone.

NAACP REAL TARGET: Also released on bond was the Rev. J. C. Crenchaw, president of the Little Rock chapter of the NAACP.


LITTLE ROCK, ARK.—
INTEGRATION TEST
WHAT DO THEY MEAN LITTLE ROCK?
OUR RIGHTS

N.Y. Amsterdam News

The arrest orders were based on an ordinance adopted Oct. 14 at the suggestion of Arkansas' attorney general. Although aimed specifically at the NAACP, Little Rock Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann ruled that three segregationist organizations in the city were also covered by it. The three complied just before the deadline set by the council for filing the required information. The warrants for the arrest of NAACP officials were ordered by a majority of the council while Mayor Mann was absent from the city. The ordinance provides for fines of from $50 to $250 for each day of non-compliance.

Roy Wilkins, exec. secy. of the NAACP, explained in San Francisco his organization's stand: "The NAACP has consistently refrained from making public a list of its members, not because we are a secret organization. But in practically every state in the South since 1954 the known members of our organization have been the victims of economic and other pressure which in some instances have deprived them of employment and in others have resulted in violence directed against them, their homes, or their business establishments."

CONSTITUTION FLOUTED: In New York Thurgood M. Marshall, special counsel of the NAACP, said: "Mrs. L. C. Bates will be represented by adequate counsel. On Oct. 28 the NAACP filed a petition in the U.S. District Court in Little Rock seeking an order enjoining the city of Little Rock from enforcing the ordinance . . . as a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. The action by the

(Continued on Page 9)

Little Rock story

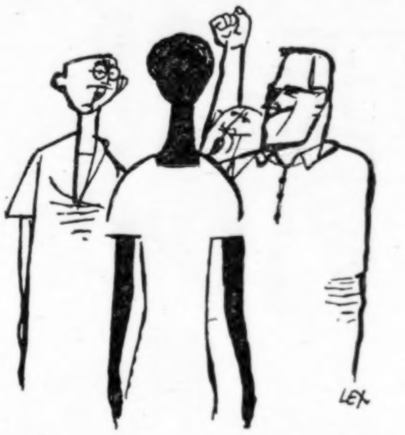
(Continued from Page 8)

council is another instance of efforts of the State of Arkansas to use judicial processes to thwart the Constitution of the United States of America." The NAACP writ was scheduled to be argued in Federal Court on Nov. 4.

Federal troops and units of the National Guard under Federal control are still on duty at Central High School, but since Oct. 23 the nine Negro students have left and entered the school without military escort and using private means of transportation. Before that they had been taken to and from school in an Army station wagon.

CLUTCHES OF FEAR: Although there were no overt incidents in Little Rock, below-the-surface tension remained. The Pittsburgh **Courier**, Negro weekly, in a report from the scene on Oct. 26 said "fear has Little Rock Negroes in its clutches." The report said they fear to join the NAACP, fear to talk to newspaper reporters and are feeling economic reprisals. Above all, it said, they are afraid of what might happen if the troops are withdrawn: "Negroes here state flatly that 'all hell will break loose'." Mr. L. C. Bates, who with his wife publishes the **Arkansas State Press**, a weekly, said: "I feel that with the present tension, we will have trouble if they pull the troops out."

Mrs. Bates confirmed this report at a press conference in New York on Oct. 31. She said: "If the Federal troops were moved tomorrow, I'd hate to think what would happen to those nine children. If the troops were removed from within the school, things would be made very unpleasant for them." But she said that of the nearly 2,000 students enrolled in the school, only about 50 are troublemakers on the integration issue: "If the Federal troops were removed, trouble would come from them and not the student body in general."



De Groene, Amsterdam

IKE MARKS TIME: President Eisenhower at his press conference on Oct. 30 said there seems to be a daily improvement in the Little Rock situation and said he was hopeful that troops can be removed soon. He blamed his delay in appointing members of the newly-established Civil Rights Commission on the difficulty of finding the proper persons to serve. Among those rumored as being considered are Adlai Stevenson, former Texas Governor Allan Shivers, an Eisenhower Democrat, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, former Senator Frank Graham of North Carolina and A. Palmer Hoyt, publisher of the Denver **Post.**

The President denied that he was delaying promised conferences with Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) and with five Southern Republican Congressmen. He said it was "a question of arranging these things in the order in which they can be taken up, studied and something useful accomplished."

Meanwhile residents of Little Rock were hoping for a change with the Nov. 5 election of a seven-member Board of Directors under a new city management plan that will replace the present City Council and Mayor.

A 'CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT'

Judge to throw out Powell case unless China passport is issued

Special to the Guardian

SAN FRANCISCO

FEDERAL JUDGE Louis E. Goodman, in a ruling on Nov. 1, said he would dismiss sedition charges against John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman unless the State Dept. within 30 days permitted the defense to gather evidence in China and North Korea. The charges grew out of articles printed in the **China Monthly Review** of Shanghai, of which Powell was the editor and Mrs. Powell and Schuman staff members.

Judge Goodman said that while he did not question the State Dept.'s policy of refusing to issue passports for China and North Korea, the defendants had a "constitutional right" to present evidence. The Judge earlier had named A. L. Wirin, defense counsel, as an officer of the court to enable him to go to the Orient to gather evidence, if the State Dept. gave its approval. The defense said it had 100 prospective witnesses in the two countries to question on the matter of alleged U.S. aggression in North Korea and the use of bacteriological warfare.

A room of one's own

Few cats are as fortunate as Don Figuero, a Chinchilla Persian better known as Figgy. This handsome smoke-colored feline owned by Mr. and Mrs. John Fred has a room of his own with an indoor heated area and a screened outdoor area too, which means he can relax indoors or out, according to mood and weather. There is good reason for this because, as everyone knows, cats are hard on furniture. Then too, Figgy is a distinguished cat. Don Ramon, once selected as a cat of the year, was his father, and with a background like that, it is only natural that he should have something special.

Home Magazine—Los Angeles **Times**

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BOOKS

'The Hit' — a novel of life in Harlem

OFFHAND IT SEEMS unlikely, but some people live a lifetime and never enjoy a really happy day. It can happen if you're very poor. And if you're poor and black—a correlation that embraces millions in our country—the chances are immeasurably enhanced.

That's the way it was with Hubert Cooley. For 50 years he had been, in the words of the Negro spiritual, "rolling through an unfriendly world." There had been no lack of hope,; the dreams deferred were legion. But never had there been an event or a moment even remotely resembling success or real happiness.

Hubert Cooley knew, of course, that this would change. Like all who devote themselves unsparingly to the phantom of found money, he never doubted that his day would come. A penny would get you $6 in the Harlem numbers game and, even though the odds were 1,000 to one, a man **had** to hit sometime. Since Hubert didn't play pennies, but with dollars he begged, borrowed or stole from the household funds, he would only have to hit once.

UNCLE GOD: Exactly when, depended on God. Hubert Cooley maintained with Him a relationship both close and casual —the proper sort to have with a rich uncle. He quarreled with God in a mildly truculent way (the same way he did everything else) for not recognizing that he deserved His favors more than the "trifling" lower-class Negroes whose ragged children spilled out of their miserable dwellings and kept up such a ruckus on West 126th Street. ("You owe me some luck God. You owe me some luck.")

For three years he had hidden a brand new suitcase, filled with the new clothes he would take to San Francisco. (". . . out in California. They say a man with a little shop can live real comfortable there. Lots of people go out there when they're getting up in age because of the sunshine and all.")

Hubert would leave Gertrude behind. It was she who had persuaded him to take the job as janitor in four apartment houses on 126th Street. She seemed resigned to the dreary round of chores that led from one vermin-infested apartment to the next; she was always absorbed in the petty cares of their luckless neighbors. Wife of 26 years, she didn't share his dream—she was a stranger to Hubert. And James Lee, their son, who spent as many nights outside as in the house; he was a stranger, too.

What happens to Hubert Cooley, to Gertrude and James Lee, on that thrill-packed climactic day when God relents and Hubert's number comes up is the subject of a first novel of major consequence.*

A WILLIE LOMAN: Julian Mayfield is a craftsman with a fine dramatic sense and substantial narrative powers. A few years ago on the New York summer theater circuit **The Hit** made its first appearance as a one-act play entitled "417." This probably accounts for the almost theatrical (but never "hammy") effects Mayfield achieves in his short novel. Chapter, scene and flashback follow each other in a sequence that seems as real and as natural as the characters themselves. The story ends in a climax and a denouement whose striking dramatic force lies precisely in its inevitability.

Hubert Cooley stands, as we close the pages of the book, surrounded by the enveloping darkness of the Harlem street he hates, waiting for John Lewis, the numbers runner, to bring his winnings. As he stands there he reminds one of no one so much as of Willie Loman, the hero of Arthur Miller's **Death of A Salesman.** Both Hubert Cooley and Willie Loman are loners; both are captives of a hopeless dream; both know they deserve better luck and both are certain they need only be ready to meet their fortune. But while the dramatic resemblance to Miller's work is real, there is nothing derivative about Mayfield's art.

KEEP MOVING: Mayfield's hero embodies another quality besides the chimeric quest for sudden riches. He believes that the best way to change your luck is to change the place you live. This has been a generic theme of Negro life and literature ever since Negroes have been free enough to move around in their native land. Hubert Cooley's motivation is the same as that of the balladeer who sang:

Going to Chicago where the water
drinks like wine,
'Cause this Birmingham water
drinks like turpentine.

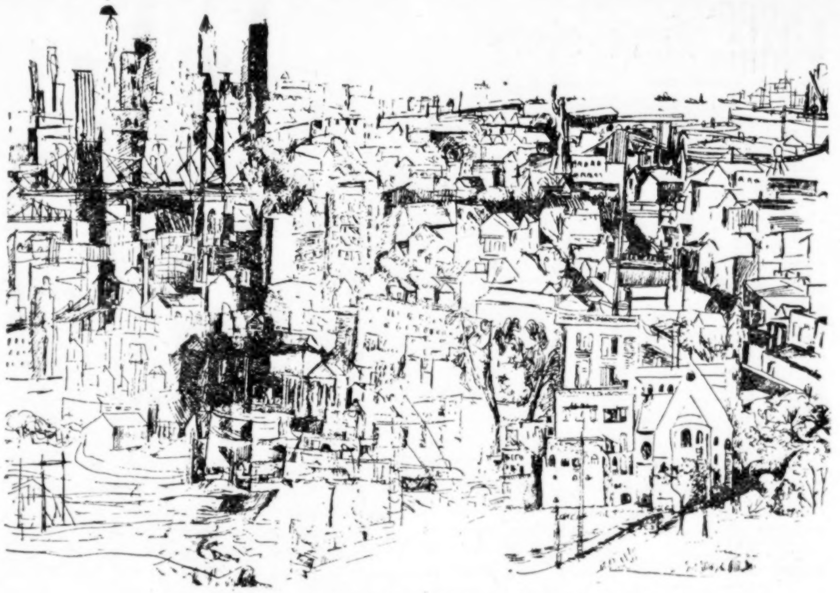
Or the great blues singer, Joe Turner, who without specifying destination, cried out:

If you don't believe I'm going,
just count the days I'm gone.

Two hundred twelve lavishly-margined pages is paltry space in which to capture the complex and pulsating life of Harlem, the world's largest Negro community. We cannot cavil with Mayfield. Perhaps he will come again with a book big enough for portraits in depth of some characters and situations which appear as finely finished sketches in **The Hit.** This book is an auspicious beginning. And it is a poignant reminder of how much remains to be done to achieve a society in which man's fate is no longer determined by caprice.

Louis Burnham

* *THE HIT, by Julian Mayfield, 212 pp., The Vanguard Press, 424 Madison Av., N.Y. $3.50.*



Drawing by Anthony Toney from "Serenade"

AARON KRAMER has put together a group of poems—by himself and others—which have these things in common: their setting is New York, their mood is compassionate and their style is uncomplicated and lucid. Folkways Records has recorded Kramer reading them as tenderly as they were written.* It has published with the album the texts of the poems and a series of prints by 12 artists. Poets represented in the collection, in addition to Kramer, are: Alexander F. Bergman, Maxwelll Bodenheim and Morris Rosenfeld. Kramer's desolate **Train Song,** Bodenheim's tender **Spring, 1943,** and Bergman's angry **War Song** are among the most memorable poems of this collection. The artists whose works make their own comment rather than illustrate the poetry, are: Herbert Kruckman, Phillip Reisman, Hilde Weingarten, Theodore Fried, Anthony Toney, Alice Neel, Joseph Solman, Estelle Tambak, Saul Lishinsky, Edward Strickland, Jean Hale and Louis Harris. **—E.B.**

**SERENADE by Aaron Kramer, Folkways Records Album No. FL 9703, List price, $5.95; available through GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE at $3.95.*

THEY LOVED CHARLOT IN PARIS

An older Chaplin speaks

Special to the Guardian

PARIS

CHARLOT, AS THE FRENCH affectionately call Charlie Chaplin, had the house with him when he presented his **King In New York** at a press opening in Paris. The showing was punctuated with laughter all along, but the strongest applause came when the film spoke out against informers and the suppression of basic liberties.

At the press conference before the showing there were no cagey political questions that called for a declaration of faith. Chaplin made one all the same:

"I did not wish to preach in my film. I wanted to show certain conditions. They may be symbolical, but they are very real too. An artist cannot—he must not ignore what goes on in the world around him. He is part of that world and he has his share in it. There is no preaching in my film—it is no accident that I put all political speech-making in it in the mouth of a child—but there is a message. Nothing should be permitted to transcend the spirit. A nation that is to be a nation of informers will eventually destroy its own civilization."

FOR LAUGHS: When a British journalist asked, if he were to make a picture in England today, what "targets" he would shoot at, he said: "I don't shoot at targets. I have never been trying to shoot at targets. That is not at all how it goes with me. . . . In my early slapstick days—and I still go for slapstick today—a producer once asked me what the subject of my next picture was going to be. 'It's always the same subject', I told him. 'Getting people in and out of trouble . . .' I want to create laughter, I want to make people laugh. I am essentially a showman. I like to amuse people. If I fail, then I should be slapped. Satire? Of course! I am 68 years old today. It's pretty hard at 68 to keep away from satire . . ."

To a French reporter's question whether he would ever make another real "Charlot" picture—good old slapstick style—Chaplin said:

"Charlot was a very young and alert man. Now it would be an old Charlot. Whether he would be very funny I don't know. But esthetically I don't like the idea. No one is more critically aware of his age than an artist."

FOR CONTROVERSY: He paid a few compliments to France and explained how he was able to live happily almost anywhere in the world because he was used to moving about, having been "brought up in a travelling basket." The talk came back to America when some one asked whether Chaplin hoped to show his latest film in the U.S.

"I should be delighted to," said Chaplin. "Of course the film was made so as to be independent of the American market. But I'd, of course, like very much to show it in America. Many American marines and soldiers have seen it in Europe. They laughed harder than any one else in the audience, especially when the fire hose squirts water on the Investigation Committee. . . These Investigation Committee sessions are by no means exceptional, you know. And I think every decent American would agree with what the film has to say about them. Some people complain my film is too controversial. But all life is controversial. That is what gives it vitality."

Anne Bauer

Lines for an earth satellite

Shall we dive into the sky,
feel the embrace of our freedom
in a thousand bonds of delight?
Shall we? Again?

Flash!
Hold that pose.
Man bites sun

not once
but clickety-click
forever . . .
giving back
earth to sky—sky to light—
sky that becomes
never-ending day.

We were all there really.
Pterodactyls
didn't hold conversations
with schoolboys in Peking anymore
and the beautiful girls of Little Rock
said it was a new time period . . .

Paul Bunyan would have liked this one—
stepping around the earth
in Mach 6 boots.

And who did it?
Men and women like us
average height
rushing carefully over the atomic sluice
into today . . .

—Walter Lowenfels

PATRONIZE
GUARDIAN ADVERTISERS

CALENDAR

Chicago

SAT., NOV. 23—Hear **ROCKWELL KENT**, world-renowned artist, author, lecturer, speaking to mark the 40th Anniversary of the USSR and 24th Anniversary of U.S.-U.S.S.R. diplomatic relations. Also, speaker from Soviet Embassy. 32 W. Randolph, Hall C-1. 8:15 p.m. 90c. Ausp: Chi. Coun. Amer.-Sov. Friendship.

"THE MEANING OF THE FALL OF ZHUKOV". Hear Howard Mayhew, Socialist Workers Party, Fri., Nov. 15, 8:15 p.m. at 777 W. Adams Street.

Nov. 8-14 Midwest Premiers Soviet films **"Immortal Garrison"** and (in color) **"Gift for Music."** Avon Theater, 3327 W. Fullerton. HUmboldt 6-2110.

"How Can We End Segregation
North & South"?
HEAR: Rev. F. Fison, Pastor, South Deering Methodist Church.
Dr. T. M. Howard, formerly of Bayou, Mississippi.
FROM MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA
E. D. NIXON, Treasurer & Organizer Montgomery Improvement Association.
Shiloh Baptist Church ADM: 50c
4821 S. Wabash Ausp: E. V. Debs Forum
Wednesday Nov. 20 8 P.M.

Cleveland

"SALT OF THE EARTH"
Two Cleveland Showings
West Side
FRIDAY, NOV. 15 8:30 p.m.
Ukrainian Labor Temple, 1651 Auburn
East Side
SATURDAY NOV. 16 8:30 P.M
Masonic Temple, 13512 Kinsman Rd.
Donation at door. Ausp. 16 MM Film Club.

Detroit

"MUST THE BOOM BUST?"
A Debate between Dr. Kenneth Boulding, Prof. of Economics, Univ. of Michigan and Harry Braverman, Co-Editor, American Socialist. Thurs., Nov. 7, 8 p.m., Central Methodist Church. Adm: 90c, Students, 50c. Ausp: Detroit Labor Forum.

San Francisco

Hear **HARVEY O'CONNOR, ADRIAN SCOTT.** Chairman: **Harry Bridges.** Fri., Nov. 22, 8 p.m., Sir Francis Drake Hotel. Topic: "The Sobell Case: 2 Points of View" Tickets—Rm. 302, 345 Franklin or UN 1-1334. Donation.

Bay Area, Calif.

MAUD RUSSELL speaks on "Current Issues in the Mid- and Far East." **Sat., Nov. 23, 8:30 p.m.,** at home of Shirley & Richard Weinerman, 701 Hancock Way, in El Cerrito. Guardian benefit
Sunday, Nov. 24, 2:30 p.m., at 3936 Canon Av., Oakland.

New York

Round Table Review Presents
"COMPULSION" by Meyer Levin
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12 8:30 P.M.
Commentary by **Dr. Frederic Ewen**
Reading by Steven Franken, Will Geer, Michael Wager and Martin Wolfson. Direction by Phoebe Brand & John Randolph. Tuition $1.50. Master Institute, 310 Riverside Dr. (103 St.) 5 Av. bus & Bwy IRT. UN 4-1700.

Shakespeare's Last Period
The Disintegration of the Elizabethan World
with
Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein
8-10 p.m.
Monday, November 11
59 W. 71 St. Penthouse 10 A
Tuition—$1.50

PROGRAM OF SOCIALIST STUDIES
for week of November 12
Tuesday, November 12
DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS
"The Civil War"—at 7:15 p.m.
DR. OTTO NATHAN
"Are Monopolies Compatible With Capitalism" at 9 p.m.
Wednesday, November 13
DR. BARROWS DUNHAM
"Skepticism: What Can You Know For Sure?" at 7:15 p.m.
KUMAR GOSHAL
"Egypt and Ghana" at 9 p.m.
Thursday, November 14
F. G. CLARKE
"Tito: Independence of Socialist Nations" at 8 p.m.
Adelphi Hall, 74 5 Av. (nr. 14 St.) Rates $1.50 per session. Students $1. For further information call GR 3-6264. Sponsor: SOCIALIST UNITY FORUM.

SPUTNIK LECTURE
Hear of the latest scientific developments. Hear **JOE NORTH at POLONIA CLUB.** 201 Second Av. (12 St.) Sat. evening, Nov. 9. Adm. Free.
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DR. CLARK FOREMAN, Exec. Dir. of Emerg. Civ. Lib. Comm., speaks on "Civil Liberties in U.S. Today", Fri., Nov. 8, 8:30 p.m., Hotel Beacon, B'way at 75 St., Silver Room. Ausp: West Side Community Club.

W. ALPHAEUS HUNTON, former chairman Council on African Affairs, will speak on "Decisions in Africa", Sun., Nov. 17, 2:30 p.m. at 77 5 Av. Contrib. 49c.

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Publications

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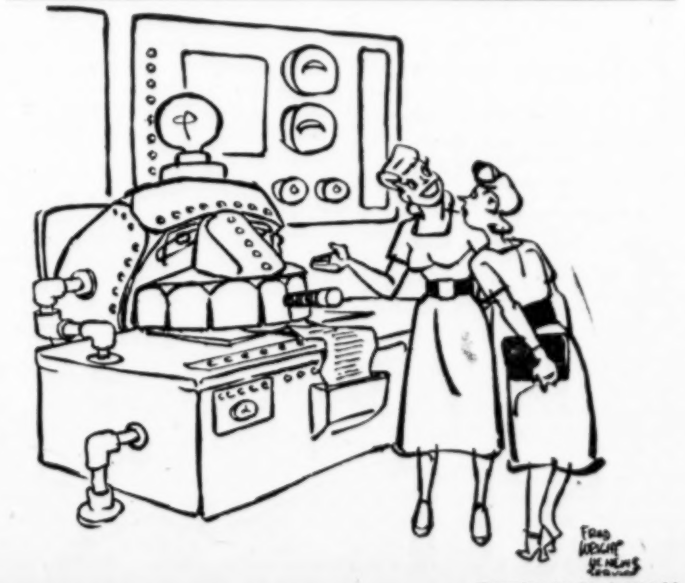

Drawing by Fred Wright

"It's our new electronic boss . . . does everything the old boss did except go to Palm Beach in the winter."

THE GALLERY

KENTUCKY-BORN JAZZ MUSICIAN Lionel Hampton canceled four engagements last month to fly to London for a benefit jam session in behalf of 156 men and women now on trial in South Africa for violating their country's jimcrow laws. Hampton told British newsmen: "There are some things more important than money. Freedom is one of them. Color discrimination is a disease. Is there any in music? See for yourself—we all play the same black and white notes." . . . There are slight but perceptible stirrings on U.S. campuses. The newly formed Politics Club at Chicago U. is trying to line up forum appearances by William Worthy, Norman Thomas, I. F. Stone, A. J. Muste and Bert Cochran (**American Socialist**) . . . Now touring the U.S. is a Polish theatrical troupe specializing in light satire. Calling themselves the Warsaw Wagabunda (Vagabonds) their tour hits the biggest Polish-American communities. Performances in Polish only . . . A Polish photo show is also touring U.S. camera clubs while the Photographic Society of America has a show of 100 U.S. photos in Lodz, Poland . . . Francoise Sagan, whose novels celebrate the alleged boredom of bed, has written a 2½-hour ballet, one hour with music, one hour in mime. She will direct it herself. It will open in Paris this season . . . The Moscow Art Theater will produce Arthur Miller's **The Death of A Salesman.**

Francoise Sagan

TV'S "INDEX OF BOREDOM has been rising steadily," advertising executive John P. Cunningham told the Assn. of National Advertisers meeting in Atlantic City last week: "But people are long-suffering. They will watch programs that bore them, but they tend to tune out their minds—which is bad for advertising. I'm brash enough to say that anybody who buys another Western, unless it is a marked creative departure from the pattern, ought to turn in his gray flannel suit and go to the eternal showers." . . . Rock 'n Roll, often hopefully dismissed as a fad, still claims more than half of the 20 best-selling records . . . In New York Loften Mitchell's play **Land Beyond The River**, dealing with the Rev. J. A. DeLaine's opening-gun fight for desegregation in South Carolina, has re-opened for an indefinite run at the Greenwich Mews (W. 13th St., betw. Sixth and Seventh Avs.) Individual reservations and benefit bookings available.

THE BRAINS OF THE U.S. ROCKET PROGRAM has been having difficulty handling the brass. In Washington last month Air Force Col. Eugene C. LaVier, who had just joined the Office of Scientific Research, briefed reporters on the Farside rocket launched from a balloon over Eniwetok. The colonel said it had exceeded its expected altitude of 4,000 miles and that its signals had been silent for 75 minutes, so that its altitude could not be precisely determined. In Los Angeles Dr. Morton Alperin, Farside's director of operations, "expressed perplexity" at what the brass was saying. The signal never faded, he said, and the rocket could not have exceeded its design maximum performance . . . The **Wall Street Journal** has found "the status symbol" a key factor in management problems. Some executives show their rank in pigskin tile floors, brass spittoons, silver water carafes. The paper quoted one Boston utility executive: "The vice-president next door began coveting my couch (red leather), even claiming his doctor ordered him to take mid-day naps. I finally told my secretary 'you decide.' She told me not to give it away."

ISLAND IN THE SUN, the Harry Belafonte movie which hesitantly touches on inter-racial romance, played only one day in an Atlanta, Ga., drive-in. Pickets appeared and a Superior Court judge promptly issued a restraining order terming the film a "public nuisance" causing a crowd of "a riotous nature" to assemble in protest. The case is up for a hearing Nov. 7 . . . **The Troublemakers**, a play which grew out of the murder (with political overtones) of a college student some years ago, will be presented on CBS-TV's Playhouse 90 on Thursday, Nov. 21, 9:30-11 p.m. Ben Gazzara will play the murdered student; Mary Astor his mother.

OUT THIS WEEK: the special anniversary issue of **New World Review,** celebrating 40 years of the U.S.S.R. and 24 years of American-Soviet relations (25 cents, NWR, 34 W. 15th St., N.Y.C. 11) . . . Also, the first pamphlet issued by the American Forum For Socialist Education, **Questions for the Left,** by Sidney Lens with divergent comments on it by spokesmen of all tendencies on the left. A J. Muste wrote the introduction. Forum's address: Room 221, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.

CHI PAI-SHIH DIED at the age of 90 on Sept. 17 in China. A quiet old man with black skull cap, white hair and wispy beard, he painted flowers, shrimps, fish, in the classic manner. He also wrote poetry and was a deputy to the People's Congress. He lived in one room most of his life. When the Government gave him a big house of his own he said he was unhappy and asked to go back to his room. In China they called him a "cultural giant."

N.Y. meeting Nov. 20 for Marion Bachrach

A MEMORIAL for the late Marion Bachrach will be held on her birthday, Nov. 20, at the Sheraton-McAlpin Hotel (24th floor), Broadway and 34th St., New York, at 8 p.m. The meeting is being arranged by Jessica and John Abt and a group of Miss Bachrach's friends. Miss Bachrach was Abt's sister. All are invited.

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- Over the Hills
- Clementine
- The Frozen Logger
- The Boll Weevil
- Talking Blues
- I Don't Want to Get Adjusted
- The Wreck of the "John B"
- So Long, It's Been Good to Know You
- Michael, Row the Boat Ashore
- Two Brothers (The Blue & The Grey)
- Ragaputi (Indian)
- Wasn't That a Time
- Go Tell it on the Mountain
- Poor Little Jesus
- Mi Y' Malel (Hebrew)
- Santa Claus is Coming (It's Almost Day)
- We Wish You a Merry Christmas!

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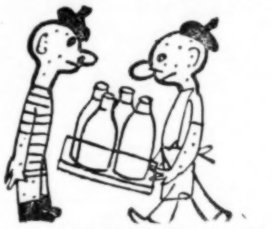
the SPECTATOR

Unholy cow!

"YOU HAVE TWO RADIOACTIVE COWS. Don't sell the milk." That was the nerve-jangling message that came over the telephone in the early hours of Sunday morning, Oct. 13. It was a startling way for Jeff Symons, a farmer in Devon, to wake up. By the end of that week-end the alarm unnerved a great many other Britons.

The two "hot" cows of Jeff Symons had been bought from a farm near the Windscale plutonium plant in West Cumberland. On the previous Thursday the No. 1 pile at Windscale had over-heated, sending radioactive vapor and some oxidized uranium particles out over the countryside. The 3,000 workers at Windscale and the nearby atomic energy plant at Calder Hall were quickly evacuated but the Atomic Energy Authority assured everyone else there was no danger.


Drawing by Dyad, London
"Decontaminated—six cents extra."

On Sunday night policemen on motorcyles made the rounds of every farmhouse in 14 square miles near Windscale and warned them that their cows were radioactive; the milk could not be fed even to the calves. Later the area was extended to cover 200 square miles and about 600 farms. More than a week after the first alarm, milk was being collected in cans and poured into the sea at the rate of 25,000 gallons a day.

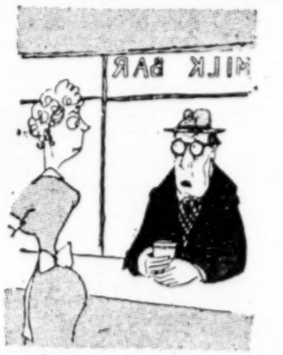
THE GUARDIAN'S CEDRIC BELFRAGE reported from London that farmers near Windscale had noted stiffening "buyer resistance" to all produce from the district. A farmer's wife was quoted: "We have a feeling that something more serious is developing, otherwise the scare would have passed by now. Not only is our milk going to waste, but we cannot sell our vegetables. It is like living in a leper colony."

Sir Christopher Hinton, chairman of the Electricity Generation Board and recently managing director of the Atomic Energy Authority's industrial group, insisted that the accident had done no material damage to "any man or living being or any property." But while he spoke the milk flowed down the drain; workers "cleaning up" the damaged reactor had to be replaced every few days after receiving their "permitted dose of radiation"; and angry farmers gathered in meetings. They received no satisfactory answers, Belfrage said, to such questions as: "What guarantee have we that this terrible thing will never happen again?" and "Has anyone been sacked?"

There was a similarity between the situation of the Cumberland farmers near Windscale and the ranchers of the American Southwest in the shadow of U.S. weapons test explosions. In both areas farmers have noted unaccustomed blights on their cattle that are not easily washed out by Atomic Energy Commission press releases.

IN BRITAIN, there had been dark suspicions of atomic effects long before the Windscale accident. N.Y. **Times** correspondent Kennett Love told how W. E. Hewitson, a "no-nonsense Englishman" who "knows almost nothing of nuclear physics," came smack up against the atomic threat. In the last five years the cows on his farm at Yottenfews, almost directly under the tall stacks of Calder Hall, Britain's greatest atomic plant, have lost fertility. As a rule only a third of his herd calve and give milk now. He has changed bulls four times in four years with no observable effect.

Across the road cattleman John Bateman, whose herds suffer similarly, said he feared for the reputation of his bulls. Land values near Windscale have dropped and mortgages are hard to get where the invisible blight has settled over the countryside.



Lancaster in London Express
"Excuse me, Miss, but would you think me very fussy were I to ask for a geiger counter?"

The danger area has been cut down now to about 100 square miles around Windscale. In that zone all milk is still being collected, paid for by the government and poured into the ocean.

Hewitson of Yottenfews faced up to the threat with the kind of irrelevance the British reserve for crises. He said: "I suppose there will be some fat fish by now."

Elmer Bendiner

The Philokaliers meet Sat. nights

PEADAR NUNAN, former member of the Irish Players and president of the Philokaliers, a cultural social group organized in 1950 in New York's Greenwich Village, has returned from a vacation in Eire. Nunan has changed the rendezvous of his Philokaliers to the Hotel Wilson, 310 W. 58th St., and they meet every Saturday at 10 p.m. in the Fireplace.

The Philokaliers are now evolving into a debating society. Nunan's phone: UN 4-4092.

OK, Alaska

JUNEAU, ALASKA

Keep up my subscription to the GUARDIAN and if I should happen to be late, please, always let me know so as not to miss a copy of the GUARDIAN.

Frank Doelger